1-1-2000

Writing workshop revisited : a look at second grade children's writings and interactions.

Paul Alexander D. Preston
University of Massachusetts Amherst

WRITING WORKSHOP REVISITED:
A LOOK AT SECOND GRADE CHILDREN'S WRITINGS AND INTERACTIONS

A Dissertation Presented

by

PAUL ALEXANDER DEBETTENCOURT PRESTON

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 2000

School of Education

WRITING WORKSHOP REVISITED:
A LOOK AT SECOND GRADE CHILDREN'S WRITINGS AND INTERACTIONS

A Dissertation Presented

by

Paul Alexander DeBettencourt Preston

Approved as to style and content by:

Judith Solsken, Chair

Jerri Willett, Member

Pamela Quiroz, Member

Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

First and foremost, I dedicate this dissertation to my partner Philip and to my friend Bette. Their love, patience, and continued support inspired me to persevere throughout my doctoral program. Always with a positive spirit, they encouraged me and they provided me with added self-confidence that made each milestone of my work a reality. They made countless sacrifices during the past several years. I am forever grateful that they allowed me the opportunity to bring my dream to fruition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to thank Dr. Judith Solsken, my major advisor, who has provided patience, understanding, encouragement, and self-confidence. Her high standards for professionalism are evidenced continually through her interactions with her colleagues and with her students. To Dr. Solsken, for helping me to see and to understand, I am deeply appreciative.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to my other committee members: Dr. Jerri Willett for her continued support and for her helpful suggestions and guidance. I am truly grateful to Dr. Pamela Quiroz for her willingness to serve on my committee.

Appreciation is also expressed to the Brooklawn Regional School District, the school committee and the superintendent, Dr. Gus Sayer for their willingness to allow me to conduct this study. I would also like to thank Mr. Paul Wiley, my principal. He continued to find ways to provide me with the time that I needed to complete this work. His interest and commitment to my study never went unnoticed. A special thank you is owed to the children who cooperated in this research endeavor. Without them, this study never could have become a reality.

While pursuing my doctorate, I received the help and support of many friends and colleagues. I wish to thank Dr. Barbara Hruska for the time and suggestions she gave as I struggled with ways to frame my study. I wish to thank Dr. Sally Ember who was never too busy to read and then discuss my ideas with me. I also wish to thank Nancy Fritz who allowed me to use her office when I needed a place for quiet reflection. Finally, I wish to thank my colleagues who continued to support my efforts and who reminded me how important this work was for all of us. I am thankful for their friendship and for their support.

ABSTRACT

WRITING WORKSHOP REVISITED:

A LOOK AT SECOND GRADE CHILDREN'S

WRITINGS AND INTERACTIONS

SEPTEMBER 2000

PAUL ALEXANDER DEBETTENCOURT PRESTON

B.S., UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

M.A., UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Judith Solsken

The focus of this study is to understand how students in one second-grade class utilized the social justice principle that they had been taught, to help them negotiate social tensions during Writing Workshop time. I studied the interactions and the writings of children while they composed and they shared their writing with their peers. Although there may be many types of tension present within an elementary classroom, I studied issues related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust.

Theoretical constructs supporting this study were derived from grounded theory and sociolinguistic theory. Data collected during daily writing times throughout the school year included: personal student profiles; participant observer field notes; video and audio taped student conversations and student interviews; photographs of student interactions; and photocopies of students' writing.

There were three principal findings about students' writings and social interactions during Writing Workshop times. First, students demonstrated within their writing the inclusion of a social justice principle that they were taught, but not in

respect to culture. Although there were no negative cases of cultural stereotyping within the students' writing, there were also no cases of positive cultural images displayed. Second, students did not utilize the social justice principle in their conversations to help them negotiate tensions. Third, students' social status among peers influenced their behaviors and their decisions when they were faced with tensions during Writing Workshop. Norms associated with student social status had a stronger effect on their behavior than those from the social justice principle which they were taught.

This study suggests the importance of including a social justice component within the Writing Workshop model. It further suggests that objectives be included that bring to the attention of all members of the community the presence of children's social status. It was the influence of student status within this classroom that affected the ways that children have access to learning and that limited participation for some of the students. Direct teacher instruction in social justice may insure that the Writing Workshop is positive and productive for all members of the classroom.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW

Introduction

Teachers' responsibilities in the classroom extend beyond the teaching of academics. Although there is much debate about how far and in what direction to extend, all agree that the negotiation of social relationships in the classroom is integral. Writing Workshop is one of the times that elementary school children negotiate such relationships.

This study provided a window into a second-grade classroom by focusing on the ways that children co-constructed certain social relationships during Writing Workshop times through their written and spoken language and behaviors. I looked at my classroom, in which a Writing Workshop pedagogy was part of daily practice. This pedagogy also included the direct instruction of social justice within writing and daily interactions. I analyzed the extent and nature of any carryover from this direct instruction into the children's interactions and writings during Writing Workshop.

As a teacher and a researcher, I wondered in what ways can social interactions be monitored, and to what extent can they be affected? After data collection in my classroom had been occurring for several weeks (monitoring), and had revealed many incidents of injustice, unkindness, and unfairness during Writing Workshop times and in student writings, I decided to use a social justice principle and curriculum to try to bring about positive effects on the students' writings and social interactions.

Background to the Study

I have been teaching children for almost twenty years; for fifteen of those years I have used the Writing Workshop as a method of teaching writing to children. I have wondered what effects my positive modeling of social responsibilities and my having paid direct attention to issues related to this ideology have had on the children within

my classroom. This study focused on children within my second grade classroom, where there was an emphasis on creating an equitable environment. Briefly, I introduced and explained issues of status and privilege regarding gender and culture, as well as social interactions with respect to friendship and trust, and the ways that respect and inclusion could be enhanced. I noted the presence and effects of stereotyping and exclusion, to make children become more aware of these in their conversations, behaviors, and writings. This environment, along with the teaching pedagogies and the children's responses to these pedagogies, were analyzed in this study. A description of Writing Workshop and of social justice issues related to Writing Workshop is followed by an in-depth discussion within the literature review.

Writing Workshop Defined

The term Writing Workshop, as defined in the literature, is a perspective on writing pedagogy that includes implicit theoretical antecedents about the nature of writing (Graves, 1983). The main tenets of Writing Workshop stress that the writing must come from within the writer and not be imposed upon the writer from external contexts. Writers in Writing Workshop decide on the topics and the genres. Writers can use the ideas of others and rely upon outside sources to help them build the foundation for their writing. These student-focused aspects have become the models that many schools use (Edelsky, Altwerger & Flores, 1994). Another tenet of Writing Workshop is that the skills for writing are best learned through the process of writing. This concept of "situated learning," based on ideas from by Vygotsky (1978), has been applied in all content areas. Writing Workshop also developed by incorporating Vygotskian principles (Smith, 1988; Vygotsky, 1978).

The Writing Workshop is generally set up in three parts. The first part is the opening meeting. Teachers survey the children to discover where they are within the writing process and see what help they might need. Teachers then inform the children

of the available resources that they have with each other and encourage them to use each other for assistance.

When I offered this information to my students, I was helping them to make more informed choices as they partnered during writing time. It was my intention to address any problems that the young writers might be facing by giving them the necessary information that would allow them to proceed uninterrupted. During this time, the children were encouraged to select the topics for their writing and decide with whom they were going to write.

The next segment of Writing Workshop time is spent writing, drawing, and talking. Children move around freely, getting help from both adults and other children. This is the time that the bulk of the writing takes place. Teacher and children engage in the creation of meaningful texts together (Graves, 1983). Teachers give attention to individuals to assist them and help them make further choices about their writing.

The final segment to the Writing Workshop is the sharing time, referred to as Author's Circle. Children are invited to share their work with their peers. They usually take great pride in sitting before this audience and unveiling their talents. All attention is directed towards the writer, and all movement has stopped. The writer reads the piece, and the audience is invited to ask questions and make comments. Consequently, the author may choose to make revisions prior to publication of the piece.

Social Justice Issues in Writing Workshop

One of my interests was the connection between the Writing Workshop philosophy and the conventional theory of writing. Conventional writing instruction was thought of as teaching the individual writer within a social context. Lensmire (1994) and others believe that the writing itself is a social practice. Not only is this a

critique of traditional writing instruction, but also a redefinition of writing as a social activity and practice.

Due to the interactive nature of the Writing Workshop, this study built on the existing literature of how children interacted during Writing Workshop and other non-teacher directed times within their school day. It followed up on suggestions made by Lensmire (1994) about the importance of including the instilling of a social conscience in the pedagogy of Writing Workshop. Although some children at this age have little understanding of the political ramifications of human rights and the responsibilities that they entail, they have a strong concern for what is fair and believe that all children are entitled to fair treatment (Lensmire, 1994).

The structure that exists within Writing Workshop allows for children to maintain constant interactions with their peers. It is during these interactions that children create stories; they use the interactions with others as sources of story ideas and structures. These interactions are not all positive. Lensmire (1994) found that many children lacked the necessary skills to determine when their writing was hurtful towards others within their classroom as they were making their writing public to all members within the classroom. Their writing, which lacked attention to a social conscience, was in many cases inhibiting other children from full participation in the Writing Workshop.

A number of studies have looked at young children's social interactions as they write in classrooms, and have identified strategies children use to manage their relationships within the classroom task (Cooper, Marquis, & Ayers-Lopez, 1992; Dickinson, 1986; Gere & Abbott, 1985; Healy,1981; Heap, 1989). However, these studies viewed social interactions as influences upon the writing rather than taking the perspective that children use the writing task to fulfill their own social needs . One exception to be discussed in the review of literature in Chapter two is an study

conducted by Dyson (1995), which looked at the agendae embedded within the conversations of primary-aged children while they were writing.

Children are expected to complete several tasks simultaneously during Writing Workshop. They are expected to improve their writing skills through the experiences of writing while working out social relationships with other students. Although many classrooms utilize the Writing Workshop model of writing instruction, few look at the social requirements that are placed on the students during this time (Lensmire, 1994). In the next section, I discuss the ways that I looked at the social interactions of my students while they participated in Writing Workshop. This was the major focus of my study.

Focus of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative case study is to understand how the students in one class of second graders utilized the principle of social justice they had been taught when they were later confronted with social tensions during Writing Workshop time. This study focused on the interactions and writings of these children, who attended an elementary school located in a small college town in southwestern New England.

Although this study was not meant to demonstrate causality, I did explore the connections between the classroom environment and children's writings and conversations during Writing Workshop times. I examined and documented the pedagogical activities which drew upon our cultural differences and similarities. I also looked at the types of tensions that occurred during Writing Workshop and the sources of these tensions. My preliminary research indicated that children were negotiating power struggles related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust. Many of these struggles went beyond what children were dealing with at the moment, as children called upon their previous cultural experiences and backgrounds in order to cope with these events. Although there may be many types of tensions present within an

elementary classroom, I studied issues related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust because they were most salient in both my own preliminary research and within the literature on children's interactions during Writing Workshop. Finally, I examined the children's writing and listened to their conversations during the Writing Workshop seeking evidence and/or applications of the principle of social justice I had taught them. I analyzed how these practices which I taught the children were or were not utilized by them in specific situations during the Writing Workshop times.

Research Questions

The following major question framed what I studied during one year of Writing Workshop times in this second-grade classroom.

How do students respond to and make use of social justice lessons in identifying and negotiating social tensions during Writing Workshop?

The following questions drove the collection and analysis of data to answer the over-arching question:

1. What were the central objectives of the social justice curriculum?

2. To what extent and in what ways did children use the social justice lessons to identify and negotiate social tensions in their writing and in responding to other's writing?

3. To what extent and in what ways did children use the social justice lessons to identify and negotiate social tensions in their talk at the writing table?

Approach to the Study

I conducted a qualitative case study of a second-grade classroom in which equity and social justice were salient ideologies. Jorgensen (1989) stated: "Case studies stress the holistic examination of a phenomenon and they seek to avoid the separation of components from the larger context to which these matters may be related" (p. 19). Kennedy (1979) noted that the case study is appropriate for learning the intricate details of the situation being studied. Some of the purposes of case study research stated by Guba and Lincoln (1981) - to chronicle events, and to depict or characterize a situation - are pertinent to this study. The case study approach was most suitable because I examined a number of interrelated factors: 1) students' writing about others and themselves; 2) their behavior towards their classmates; and, 3) choices that they made about whom to work with and what topics to write about during Writing Workshop times.

Several types of data were collected and analyzed for this study. I collected data from three contexts: the writing table, the Author's Circle, and lessons relating to the social justice principle. I collected samples of the children's writings and video taped them as they wrote. These video tapes were analyzed to determine how the children negotiated tensions while writing. I used interviews to confirm my interpretations and address additional questions that came from the observations that I made. I used my daily field notes to expand the observations that I had recorded.

In addition, I used classroom seating charts and teacher lesson plans. The classroom seating charts informed me of continuing patterns of student choice. The teacher lesson plans helped me to identify specific lessons that were used that correlated with the social justice principle the children were or were not utilizing during those times when tensions became apparent.

These data sources, collected throughout the school year, were reviewed for patterns which showed me the ways the children were negotiating tensions.

Conversational transcripts were analyzed which showed the interactions between student and student as well as student and teacher. I describe these procedures further in chapter 3, Methodology.

Significance of the Study

This study, exploratory and descriptive in nature, offers researchers and teachers involved in classroom research both promising methods for conducting qualitative classroom studies and ideas for further research. The study suggests the importance of understanding the norms and values that children bring with them when they come into school. These norms and values have already become internalized and affect the way in which they interact with one another. We must make sure that we become familiar with these norms and values so that we can help develop a community where all children are allowed to become active participants.

The findings and conclusions from previous research into children's interactions during Writing Workshop indicated a need to include teaching pedagogy that would help them develop a conscience about their writing (Lensmire, 1994). Children needed to be shown how their writing was influential in creating and maintaining social relationships within their classrooms. Showing them the responsibility that they had to the others within the classroom had not been an explicit component of the writing process. This was more than an oversight but a neglect of an important issue to be included.

The social justice principle that I included in my classroom represents one way of responding to this concern. I wanted to show the children that their writing presented their views to others and could address specific issues that were not inclusive or respectful of the other members of our class. I used this principle to help frame a social conscience that the children could take up in their writing and in their conversations when they were confronted with social tensions during Writing

Workshop. The children's use of the social justice principle during the Writing Workshop was the focus of this study.

This research will add to the discussion of the importance of conducting research within the classroom and help to support the continued use of teachers and students as researchers. The way that I have conducted this study will help others to conduct future studies and help researchers continue to address the roles of teachers within this type of study. Data collection and analysis which focused on the negotiation of social tensions and the impact of a social justice pedagogy were explored to better serve and to inform those who write curricula at all levels of education, from kindergarten through graduate studies. The findings from this study show the effect of including the social justice principle within Writing Workshop and describe specifically where the infusions into the curriculum were successful.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

In order to study how the direct instruction of social justice is utilized within writing and within daily interactions during writing, we first have to look at previous theory and research which has explored some of these topics. In this chapter, I provide a review of recent research on the underlying theory of Writing Workshop, the tensions which are most salient during this teaching practice, and the importance of social justice within the classroom, respectively. I begin by discussing theoretical perspectives on children's writing that pertained to the development of Writing Workshop. Next, I discuss the way the interactive nature of this instruction creates tensions for children. I examine literature that discusses tensions related to gender and then present literature which discusses issues of friendship and trust. Finally, I briefly discuss literature about students' representations of cultural difference in their writings and in their conversations and literature on how social justice pedagogy can be presented to children and their interpretations of classroom rules. The theory and research discussed in Chapter 2 provide the basis for the study reported in the chapter that follows.

Theoretical Perspectives on Children's Writing

There has been a change in the way writing instruction occurs within elementary schools. This has shifted the situated position of total knowledge from the teacher alone to a shared position of responsibility for knowledge. Children within elementary classrooms are expected to use what they understand about both the content of academic life and the rules for social life to enrich the classroom environment for all members. In addition to drawing on and contributing their own knowledge, children within classrooms are having new demands placed upon them related to their social lives. These pressures, which were once relegated to the nonstructured times of the

day— the playground, the lunchroom or the coatroom — are now a part of their academic lives. Students' success within the academic arena is now also being measured by their success in negotiating their social worlds. For many children, this has become the most difficult aspect of their learning. Many current classroom practices are not providing children with the support needed to negotiate these new demands.

This shift, from the traditional transmission model of knowledge to a more child-centered approach, is reflected in some current writing pedagogies. Research on writing instruction has traditionally taken the educator's perspective, with its focus on acquiring knowledge about those pedagogical strategies which can best improve students' final products. Current research is now focusing on the writing process.

Culture and history are transmitted through written language use and transformed through language. Through the act of choice, children appropriate important features of culture; writing is a cultural tool that shapes thinking, and with its historical and cultural particularities, constitutes a significant social practice (Street, 1984; Vygotsky, 1978). When children learn to write in authentic social contexts, in which the writing has particular meaning and through which the writers have social relations with other people and with text (Street, 1984; Vygotsky, 1978), what is learned is that social relations accompany writing. In addition, students learn how to access these relations in positive ways. Recent findings about writing instruction have added to our understanding of the developmental and contextual influences on the Writing Workshop and have helped teachers improve classroom procedures, increase student choice and add to the quantity of school writing (Atwell, 1985; Calkins, 1986; Graves, 1983; Hansen, 1987).

Children make many decisions which allow them to move above constraints which may present themselves within classrooms. Their ability to move above situational constraints and subject themselves to cultural meanings is revealed within

their writing. Their social enactment of stories involves complex negotiations of identity. These negotiations force children to face issues of inclusion and exclusion. "We already have all of the parts, we don't need more people," is a familiar comment heard in classrooms where stories are being created within student writing teams (Dyson, 1997).

"The process of becoming literate involves learning to deliberately manipulate language - specifically, the letters and words of the written system - in order to participate in culturally valued literacy events" (p. 17). This involvement shows children who are the readers and the writers, what and with whom to write, and at what place and for what reasons writing is accepted. "Children's written language learning is not only enacted through helpful relationship; part of children's developmental challenge is to learn to manipulate relationships, to achieve particular responses from others, through the written medium" (p.18). Their response to each other's manipulations provides the meaning for their literacy events. Their writings become examples of their attempts to produce, "symbols of societal order " (p.18), which show the influence of the classroom community along with the influences of the larger society. They struggle to bring order to their thoughts as they reach out to address others in their collaborative teams (Dyson, 1997).

In Writing Workshop classrooms, children work in collaborative teams with each other, respond to each other's work, participate in literature studies, and bring their own writing to conferences (Calkins, 1986; Graves, 1983). Teachers see themselves as "kidwatchers" (Goodman, 1986) and as informed facilitators to what children are trying to do with their literacy (Atwell, 1985; Graves, 1983; Smith, 1983). Because of the interaction during Writing Workshop, children's conversations have become an integral part of Writing Workshop, and this ongoing discourse among peers is integral to the social nature of writing in classrooms (Phinney, 1992).

Some studies of child-centered pedagogies (Gilbert, 1989; Henkin, 1995; Kamler, 1993; Lensmire, 1994) found that, although these approaches may be designed to diminish issues related to gender, class, and status in classrooms, they may in fact exacerbate inequities. Henkin (1995) observed first-grade children and found that the organizational practices within the classrooms during Writing Workshop were not always visible unless close inspection of the events took place. Writing Workshop aimed at increasing children's participation and equity by allowing all students equal access and opportunities to participate within the classroom. However, she found that gender was a basis for discrimination in most of the groupings which she observed (Henkin, 1995). In a study that focused attention on the experiences of children in the social context of Writing Workshop, Lensmire (1994) also noticed patterns of association within the groups of children that divided them along lines of both gender and social class. During Writing Workshop, if given a choice of partnership, girls worked with girls, and boys worked with boys.

Not usually focused on social interactions, teachers who use Writing Workshop practices believe the invitation extended during Writing Workshop automatically gives students many occasions to participate in beneficial literacy experiences. The benefits to literacy development are not in dispute here. However, these invitations also allow children opportunities to select their writing partners, and in some instances, whom and what to write about. As students bring more of themselves and their lives into the classroom through their writing, and because this process requires social interactions through almost every stage of the workshop, a wider variety of social information is shared. Once this information is made public (many of these facts would not formerly have been made public in more traditional classrooms), students must respond to one another based on this information. In our culture, when information such as economic status, religious beliefs, family structure, personal preferences, and personal opinions is exchanged, the relative status of every student shifts according to the privileging

granted to particular positions. Does the teacher's "open invitation" truly give all students equal access and opportunity to participate and grow as writers within the classroom? This is a question being asked by many researchers (Hubbard, 1989; Kamler, 1993; Lensmire, 1994; Orellana, 1995) who wonder what effect these assumptions and their consequences are having on children. I also wondered about tensions that are co-constructed through these experiences.

Choices of partners during Writing Workshop are fraught with status hierarchy influences. These are partly based on the cultural issues listed above, and partly based on the academic and social skills that students perceive their peers to have. This "open invitation" is not free of tension; it has a tremendous impact on issues of equity and access within the classroom. My research will fill a need to explore the ways that Writing Workshop invitations and their outcomes involve the co-construction of social relationships within the classroom.

Although it is equally important to examine all of these social relations, this review will examine gender, culture, and friendship and trust as examples of the ways that children bring ideological and personal experiences into the classroom. It will also look at the ways gender issues as well as those relate to issues of culture and friendship and trust cut across and influence all other social identities, and are among the topics that children of any age most readily articulate. Even very young children discuss girl/boy as well as friendship issues frequently, which can make these issues seen and more easily observable, especially in verbal interactions.

Responsibility for the words children say and write during Writing Workshop has not been focused upon adequately within most classrooms, resulting in replications of oppressive and excluding behaviors and events without adult mediation. This review discusses studies which explore some of these tensions within the Writing Workshop time of classroom life. The selected tensions were gender, culture, and friendship and trust. When these issues are brought into focus, it may be possible for teachers who

become more aware of these problems to work more consciously to ameliorate them in their classrooms.

In the following section, I discuss studies which look at the ways that gender becomes a tension for children during Writing Workshop, and include a section on the ways that gender influences children's choices of topics and choices of partners. I continue this review with a brief discussion of friendship and trust. This is followed with a discussion of children's home cultures. Studies reviewed report the necessity of modification of the school curriculum and environment to insure success for all children.

In the next section I discuss studies which have observed children's capacity to resolve conflict through their understanding of and interpretation of the school rules. A summary of the literature that I reviewed concludes this chapter.

Gender in the Writing Workshop in Elementary Classrooms

In this section, I focus on the collaborative culture of the Writing Workshop as defined by Smith (1988). I look at ways that gender influences children's topic selections as well as their choices of writing partners. I am concerned with ways that gender as a tension affects children during Writing Workshop. These factors are related to the choices that students make during Writing Workshop. The first section looks at the ways that gender interacts with language use, genre, topic selection and the identities and ideologies represented within children's texts. The next section describes the way gender affects choices of partners during writing times.

In all the studies that I reviewed, gender was always mentioned as an issue that children were facing during Writing Workshop. These studies referred to the different ways that children demonstrated their understanding of the rules which dictate how people relate to one another based upon established gendered practices. In many studies, there were examples of how children formed gendered groups which excluded

others, chose topics which were sanctioned by the dominant culture based on gendered understandings, and acted out roles and relationships that were stereotypical.

Gender and Children's Texts

Sociolinguistic theorists who examined literacy in schools (Bloome & Green, 1983;
Cazden, 1988; Cochran-Smith, 1984; Collins, 1983; Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Green & Wallat, 1981, Heath, 1983) emphasized the importance of understanding the values and norms of particular classrooms in order to understand how children learn to be literate and what they learn about literacy itself in that process. Values and norms influence what teachers choose to focus on within the classroom; that focus then has a large effect on what students learn about the nature and purposes of literacy. Since the interrelationship of reading and writing is the foundation of literacy, the ways Writing Workshops focus upon these interrelationships is significant to children's literacy development.

Children in Writing Workshops create all of the texts. These texts are then read, revised, and reread. Whatever is present or absent in these texts, whatever slants these texts have or do not have, whatever norms and values these texts reflect, support, or despise, are all made more significant by the personalized and repetitive ways children interact with these texts, ways which are inherent to the Writing Workshop.

The texts created are influenced by gender, among many other influences. This section will explore the ways that gender influences and is influenced by language use, genre choices, topic selections, and identities and ideologies within the children's writing.

Gender and Language Use

The research on social interaction during children's writing focused on the importance of gender as a considerable factor. Children use specific language which demonstrates the influence that gender has on their selection. The selection of words and phrases represents their understanding of gender roles. Several studies have shown that specific words or phrases use was more common in boys than in girls. It was the style of their writing that was gender specified. This influence on their writing was an important component of children's literacy experiences.

Kamler's (1993) study focused on four selected elements of systemic functional grammar: theme, transitivity, modality, and lexical cohesion, which provided significant tools for revealing the impact of gender ideology on the construction of text. The portion of her study which is most relevant to my work was found in an analysis of two first-grade students' writings. Through the language that the children used, it was clear that they were representing stereotypical gendered roles, repeatedly, as a motif or theme. These two children, one boy and one girl, were considered to be representative of this classroom population. It is important to stress that while children could have chosen any aspect of their experience to focus on, they usually made distinctive choices which aligned with the gender stereotypes of the active male and the more passive/ reflective female.

The results within this study reflected the male as an actor and a doer (Kamler, 1993). While constructing himself in this way, the male represented his experiences in terms of acting upon the world. The female student's writing suggested a quiet activity that occurs in the domestic setting of the home, while the sequence of processes selected within the male writing suggested activity of a more energetic and even destructive nature. "Peter," the boy, reconstructed play activity that was active and robust (e.g., fell, boiled, lifted, hit, ran, threw, got), while the female, "Zoe," reconstructed play activity that was gentler and less physically demanding (e.g., gave,

leave, unwrapped, finished, brushed, came, walked). Language choices were gendered, and they used their writing to support these gender-related differences. Peter represented himself in terms of the cultural stereotype of the active male, while Zoe represented herself as the still, non-adventurous female.

In one example, the reconstructing of a gift-giving experience, Peter always placed the focus on himself and Zoe always placed the focus on others. Boys were the subjects of their sentences, the gift-givers, the stars of their stories; girls were the objects of their sentences, given gifts or focusing upon their gifts' effects on others, acted upon rather than acting. Again, these children reproduced the gender stereotypes in our culture, in which men act upon the world and women are recipients of other people's actions; the male focus is on self, and the female focus is on others. Zoe's greater tendency to place others in the role of actor as she reconstructed her personal experience suggested a different way of viewing the world than that which was evident in Peter's text. Zoe reconstructed activity where she was less critically involved in acting upon the world than Peter. He demonstrated, through his writing, the reproduction of the cultural stereotype of the man as significant actor, initiator and doer). Although these choices of language were not conscious choices, they demonstrated how children take such meanings and construct these meanings in their own texts, which overtly illustrated their gender roles.

The influence of gender is very strong in children's writing. Their understanding of stereotypes becomes clear in the ways that they choose to use writing to express themselves. Both boys and girls use writing to serve specific purposes and use their writing to test their understanding of the way that different genders are expected to interact with one another.

Gender and Genre

During Writing Workshop, genre is sometimes chosen by the teacher and sometimes chosen by the student. In this section I examine student-made choices and the ways that gender influenced these, and how gendered behaviors and attitudes were influenced by the chosen genre.

A study by Hubbard (1989) of unofficial literacy in a sixth-grade classroom showed that literacy was clearly an important tool for boys in establishing their turf, announcing their personalities, and declaring their alliances. They did this by using strong, declarative language, language intended to show power and to get attention. One example of these announcements was the genre of "desk messages."

> Desk messages ...were intended for a wide and public, though essentially, male-audience. Some were clearly announcements of turf, as Joshua's "Personal Property-Do Not Touch," or this message taped to the side of R. J.'s desk: "Is there life after death? Trespass and find out." Sometimes the messages were a little confusing, but the intent behind them could not be misunderstood; John's signs often appeared to be tied to American history in somewhat obscure ways, such as, "The cry, "Remember the Alamo" was born at this battle. DO NOT TOUCH." (p. 296)

These messages also reflected the mood of the writer, while telling something about their personalities and how they wanted to be perceived by others. Capital letters, references to wars, personal space territoriality, and death threats were all gendered ways to send messages to the "public." Three boys, interested in war stories, left the following messages:

> "Notice- please do not touch, A message from the Commander," and on another day, "B-24 Liberator." Joe created a hit man persona for himself, which he often wrote about, and for several weeks, his desk bore the sign, "Joe Pace, Up for Hire, Week-End Special" and Trent's "Left for a Very Fun Activity" or on another day, "Pass at your own risk-Depressed Person Ahead." (p. 296)

Boys' language use was influenced by the gender stereotypes of masculinity, such as giving orders and drawing attention to themselves. These uses of language showed how they enacted some of the stereotypes of being male.

The girls within this study took part in the writing of notes; however, "...the primary use of underground literacy for them was the realm of written notes for social purposes" (Hubbard, 1989, p. 298). Their messages were usually less "public," and also intended to convey information in less threatening ways. Their notes helped work out the personal relationships that existed within this sixth-grade classroom. Examples included the following:

Mark: Do you like Donna or Christine
yes both yes no no

.

And the next example:

Em, It seems like Christine and Martha suddenly like you more and you like them more. What happened I know we get in fights but why this

P.S. W/B

Ask Christine to right [sic] me a note. (p. 301)

There were several genres of social notes that were examined by Hubbard (1989). Approximately one-third of the notes fell into the informational category: using the notes to relay or request information. For example, Emily wrote to a neighbor, "Hi How ya doin I think I'm going to bring The Return of the King on Friday. I have not read all" (p. 300). A second category was called "silly notes." These notes were composed when the author was bored with the school work. Here, the print was used for a kind of playful, "escapist chatter" (p. 300) such as, " This is boring, I don't want to be here, Let's get out of here" (p. 301). The third and largest category was the realm of written notes for social purposes. These were messages passed between friends, usually members of the same gender, to work out rivalries and

jealousies as they arose. Even when boys participated in this genre, girls always initiated the contact, and boys usually responded briefly, by checking a box or answering a question put to them by girls.

Here, the writing was also used to plan social events, mend relationships, and maintain friendship bonds between children. The following example demonstrates how one child used writing to show understanding and reaffirm a friendship bond:

> To Shelly:
>
> I'm sorry about John. I think he's letting popularity go to his head. You
> were the one that deserved him. I'm not saying that I don't like Jen or anything but you were the one who should have got him. Anyway, I want you to come over some time this vacation. We could walk to the store and buy presents.
>
> Anyhow, I have to go.
>
> Love,
>
> Tate
>
> P.S. If you need someone to talk to, talk to me. (p. 301)

In this study, the genre of social notes was initiated exclusively by females. How did the boys decide not to use this genre? Did they assume that this was not a masculine genre?

In her analysis, Hubbard believed that the notes showed how important it was for these girls to see the relationships written down on paper as a way to give them more reality, "...although the shifting relationships were usually difficult to keep up with. These notes were much discussed, yet hidden from the eyes of teachers and parents; they are an important element of the unofficial literacy in this sixth-grade classroom" (p. 302). Hubbard believed this unofficial literacy was an important part of the students' social connection to literacy within this classroom. In addition to choosing different genres with which to communicate, children in this study also used language for different purposes and in different ways, and as shown by these and many

more examples from the study, these ways were stereotypically gender-based: girls gave choices and asked questions; boys gave orders and made threats.

Hubbard's study (1989) reported that the written notes and messages comprised an essential component of the daily lives of those students. Just as the literacy events marked the territorial boundaries for the boys in the class, as shown in the previous examples, the social notes helped to work out the tangled maze of relationships among the female members of this sixth-grade society. Topic selection in Hubbard's study showed how children used their writing as a social process, and also showed how children used this "underground" writing to maintain a culture separate from that of the official classroom. Boys used this writing to explain themselves, to establish authority or dominance; girls used writing to manage their relationships. They chose particular ways to express themselves, and these expressions were different, separated along gender lines. Boys clearly had genres and styles of writing that were preferred and accepted by boys, and girls had the same.

In another study, Orellana (1995) found that children made choices based on gendered assumptions and societal role assignment. Her study explored the construction of literacy as a gendered social practice in two different literacy environments. She focused her work on the following: choice of tasks which children engaged in during literacy time within this classroom; texts that were written and read; the talk that structured participant's interactions with texts and with tasks; and finally, the ways gendered aspects of task, text, and talk were co-constructed by students in each of the classrooms. In regard to genre, few girls wrote adventure stories; instead, they wrote many inactive portraits of friends and family, like snapshots of the world as a beautiful and peaceful place. Most of the boys within this study followed a basic problem-resolution framework and involved boys as the main protagonists in action adventures.

In many situations, the choice of genre and topic selection are intertwined, and both are gendered. Therefore, the next section will look at gender as it interrelates with topic selection.

Gender and Topic Selection

The majority of topics treated by students in Orellana's (1995) study were gendered in stereotypical ways. Girls wrote about their social relationships while boys limited themselves to writing about sports and media characters. These children expressed themselves as gendered persons through the topics they chose to write about, creating a markedly gendered literacy environment. Their own books were the most popular within the classroom library, and served as inspirations for further production of books by the other children. Therefore, their gendered topics were models that were used by other children for writing new pieces. This finding suggests that process writing classrooms may serve to legitimize texts that reinforce stereotypes more overtly than do commercially produced materials (Orellana, 1995). Most of the children reported to have received their ideas for their new stories from the stories that were previously written by their friends. Since most of their friendships were divided along gendered lines, this shows how gender as expressed through peer relations was used to construct literacy, and how literacy, in turn, served to construct gender. The range of positions available for students to take up in their writing was limited, based largely on the author's gender. This limitation was framed by the peer culture, and given great expression in this classroom because of the social practices that valued choice. Just as this was a problem for these children, the same problem would occur during Writing Workshop because children are allowed freedom to choose.

Lensmire (1994), in his study of a third-grade-class, also found that children selected topics for writing based in part on gendered roles. He argued that boys within his classroom, in an attempt to create funny, entertaining texts, drew on heterosexual

meanings to provoke responses both from the teacher and from students. Their stories drew on suggestions of romantic relationships among their third-grade classmates. The boys were writing in a social context in which teachers suppressed references to sex, and boys and girls separated themselves from each other in their work during peer conferences and during collaboration on story writing. "The boys knew how to stir things up, bring up laughter and more teasing, denials and speculation that would provoke a response, especially as they shared the text with their peers" (p. 424).

In another study, Wilson Keenan, Solsken, & Willett, (1999) found further evidence of the ways that children's talk, writing and interaction were separated along lines of gender. In the classroom that they studied the children often wrote to characters from literature or popular culture. The boys usually drew cartoon characters while the girls wrote longer letters to princesses and female movie stars. In one instance, while girls were working with the teacher on a group play, the boys, who were working with a male student teacher, wrote a group story about trucks.

The "free topic choice" aspect of Writing Workshop embraces the tenet of process writing that children change positively in their commitment to writing as a result of having some control over the meaning of text (Kamler, l993). Very little critical consideration has ever been given to the nature of the topic choices, or to the ways in which dominant social and cultural meanings constrain these choices. It has been assumed that free choice operates in a neutral way; however, choices are never really "free," because gender and other influences constrain children from some practices and pressure them to engage in others. These are the very tensions I examined in my research.

Gender, Identities and Ideologies

As seen in the above studies, although the writing that young children produce is commonly seen as a personal expression of the self rather than a learned social

practice (Gilbert, 1989), Kamler (1993) (and others) found that children used their knowledge of gender rules to guide their writing.

> When the socially constructed nature of writing is obscured, awareness of gender issues in the writing classroom is diminished. As a consequence, children continue to construct gendered meanings in text without examination, and little consideration is given to how current writing practices may foster the reproduction of gender relations. (Kamler, 1993, p. 95)

These relations continue to follow traditional patterns. "Issues of gender were for the most part invisible and naturalized within elementary classrooms" (Kamler, 1993, p. 95).

Children's understanding of gender roles becomes apparent through the different ways they use literacy as an essential component of their daily lives within the classroom. As seen above, Hubbard's work (1989) explored the literacy events that occurred in one sixth-grade classroom. In particular, her study focused on the "unofficial" uses of literacy that were a part of the "underground" classroom culture of the students. As discussed earlier, her analysis of the nonacademic writing of these children revealed that they used writing to present themselves, to share their worlds with others and to bring order to their social lives.

As in Hubbard's study, Kamler's study (1993) also made the point that choices made in classrooms are never really "free," because gender constrained children from some practices and pressured them to engage in others. This study made the argument that these young writers could not operate outside gender ideologies, and their choices were always more complicated then they appeared. Kamler's study adopted a social semiotic perspective, which views language learning as one of the major ways children learn the meanings of their culture. Learning to write is one of the social practices through which children co-construct their gendered identities (Kamler, 1993).

I agree, and feel that other issues such as culture, class, and language dominance, for example, intersect with gender to affect the choices that children make.

As a consequence, free choice in writing topics and genres tacitly encourages children to reproduce gender stereotypes as they are culturally defined. Analyses of writing events demonstrated that choices made in language are socially constructed rather than free, and suggested that, because gender ideologies gain power by operating on unconscious levels (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991), it is crucial that we find ways to de-construct these meanings as they operate in text. Furthermore, I believe teachers must then make that information useful to the children to address some of these tensions directly.

Gender and Children's Free Choice of Partners During Writing Workshop

Just as we must de-construct and utilize the textual meanings regarding gender and the choices that students make in their writing, children's choices of partners and group members must also be de-constructed and utilized. Collaboration and group work are given priority within most current classrooms, particularly with respect to writing within elementary classrooms, and many researchers have recognized that children's social choices cannot be made neutrally . In this section, I will analyze some of the research that looked at children's social choices during Writing Workshop.

One area of focus within these studies was the way in which children grouped themselves during writing time, and how this "independent grouping" affected the texts that these children produced. All of the studies that have been reviewed thus far have reported that children divided themselves along gender lines when allowed to select partners or groups with whom to share their work (Hubbard, 1989; Kamler, 1993; Lensmire, 1994; Orellana, 1995). Although gender was not used as a formal grouping factor within several of the classrooms studied, students created their own gendered groups, with most girls choosing to sit with girls, and most boys choosing to sit with boys (Solsken, 1993). This type of grouping contributed to making literacy a gendered practice. These gendered groups also followed each other's examples in the kinds of

literacy activities in which they engaged. For example, groups of boys would limit themselves to writing about sports and media characters, while groups of girls wrote about their social relationships. This limited their exposure to and practice with writing about different topics. It also limited their involvement with different genres, which therefore reproduced cultural stereotypes.

By studying the collaborative culture of Writing Workshop in one first grade classroom, Henkin (1995) was able to discover that more than one literacy club (Smith, 1988) existed within the classroom, with gender as the distinguishing factor between the major clubs. There was a boys' literacy club and a girls' literacy club. Although the girls read, wrote, and conferred together, they rarely had conferences with the boys. They only crossed these gendered boundaries when required by the teacher to do so.

Henkin (1995) asked children why such practices occurred and found that the children were quite willing and able to articulate their rationales. Most of the boys were quite happy with this situation, perceiving that their interests were much different than those of the girls: "...girls don't know, you know, if it's on sports. Well they don't really. Well, we probably know more about sports and yeah you know what I mean" (p. 431). When asked, the boys within this study agreed that the problem was that girls didn't know much about what the boys were interested in; because of this, the boys felt that the girls would not be able to help them with the writing. The way the boys explained their understanding of this was to assess the girls as inadequate partners, and they held to this view even when girls were writing about sports. Some boys felt that there were no topics that the boys wanted to write about that the girls knew about, and nothing the girls wanted to write about that the boys knew about. Therefore, these children believed that separate gendered groups made perfect sense, and saw no need to question this arrangement.

When girls were asked about this problem, they had a different rationale. Girls felt that they went to girls for help first because girls were willing to help them: "...the

girls always said yes to their request for help first" (Henkin, 1995, p. 431). Girls were trying to understand why boys didn't choose them. "For the boys it was pragmatic, the girls simply couldn't provide what they needed. But for the girls, the rejection was puzzling, something they struggled to articulate and understand" (p. 431). Girls this young, in first grade, had already experienced sexist bigotry, oppression and discrimination. "They knew it was wrong and hurtful, it had in fact hurt them" (p. 431).

This separation is not just limited to children within the early primary grades. Beals (1994) wanted to study what happened when she and her third-grade students tried to teach and learn writing in ways that transformed typical classroom social relations and tasks. As she collected and analyzed data, she began to notice patterns of association among the children that divided them along gender and social lines. During the workshop, for example, she found that children who were given an opportunity to choose their writing partners divided along gender lines. This hidden curriculum of the peer culture asserted itself in important ways within the official work of these third-grade children during their Writing Workshop. In interviews, girls said that they worked with girls and boys said that they worked with boys. During the time that these children were observed, " All peer conferences and collaborations had children working with other children of the same sex" (p. 422). Other researchers (Lensmire, 1994; Thorne, 1986) also found that certain interactions between girls and boys seemed to lessen sex segregation, but that gender-defined groups also came together in ways which emphasized their boundaries. Teasing, such as "Caitlin likes Josh," reported by Lensmire, was one of the types of interactions that emphasized and maintained gender boundaries.

In other research, this was also apparent. During writing time with no adult intervention, Wilson Keenan, Solsken, and Willett (1999) found that boys clustered with boys and girls with girls. During this time, there was relatively little talk related to

the writing that they were involved in. The boys' conversations took the form of *knowledge display* while the girls' conversations were chants, rhymes, and silly word play. It was noted that conflict talk was also different. Boys engaged in *oneupsmanship* and threats to tattletale while girls used secrets and talked about friendship to form alliances and exclude others. Girls also criticized each other for not doing what they were supposed to do, and threatened to tell on one another. Cross-gender conflict talk generally involved boys' ignoring, dismissing or insulting girls. This talk referred to gendered relations in two ways: gender-bashing, with boys making negative comments about the girls, and talk about who was romantically interested in whom. This continued even after the teacher intervened by assigning seats. The boys talked to the boys, and the girls to the girls, even if this meant talking across or behind the children sitting closest to them. When cross-gender talk did occur, it appeared to depend upon girls' adopting the boys' language practices.

These studies have looked at gender segregation within class settings where children were allowed to make choices. I wondered what differences would be apparent within classrooms where children were not allowed to make such choices, but were assigned partners. In one study, the teacher's taking control of the partnership choices and interacting with students in other ways about gender segregation had no effect; also in that study (Wilson Keenan, Solsken and Willett, 1999), when the teacher intervened, the children just worked around this as if it were an obstacle to be overcome. After the teacher raised gender as an issue of focus for this class, there was a reported change in the interaction between boys and girls. The teacher's efforts may have made a difference, but other influences could have also operated here.

Summary

These studies suggest that it is no longer possible to consider the "free choice" which we present to children within our classroom as being "free." Children need to be

guided, so that gendered ideology is made visible and questioned, challenged, and resisted (Wilson Keenan, Solsken and Willett, 1999). If we are to help children interrogate their choices, then we need to take a critical look at the meanings produced rather than simply encouraging children to work with friends and to express themselves freely. As we continue to see, young children are active collaborators in constructing the gender order. If they have no opportunity to negotiate alternative models of male/female relations, or opportunities to develop new assumptions about gender, the current ideology of gender continues to be reproduced.

Gender influences both the language and the genre that children select when they participate in Writing Workshop. This becomes apparent in their official and unofficial writing. If this writing is not challenged but is sanctioned, it becomes models for future creation of text. The stereotypical way that gender is characterized limits children's topic selection and exposure to different writing genres.

The influence of gender goes beyond topic and genre and also includes choice of writing partners. Children who made choices of partners could not make them without regard to gender. Their choice of grouping influenced the types of stories that they created, with most writing following gendered stereotypical themes.

Gender is discussed within this section in isolation from other tensions which exist within writing classrooms. This separation is an artificial one. However, the studies that I reviewed seemed to give the most attention to gender. It seems to be the most verbalized and physicalized, and therefore easiest to locate within classroom interactions.

Within the next section I focus on the idea that friendship and trust can create tensions within classrooms, and can help to inform the decisions that children make regarding whom they will work with. Friendships are formed inside and outside of the classroom, and influence the working relationships which exist during the Writing Workshop.

Friendship and Trust

Within some of the studies that I reviewed (Lensmire, 1994; Phinney, 1992) the issues of friendship and trust as they related to Writing Workshop seemed to be major concerns. Most of the children who reported concerns about sharing openly reported that they anticipated cruelty from some of their peers. In these studies, friendship and trust (or their absences) were the most common reasons that children gave for the decisions that they made about whom they would allow to read their work. This was especially true when children were asked why they did not want to work with certain children.

Lensmire (1994) saw that the norms of this part of the Writing Workshop routine granted children an opportunity that adult writers often take for granted themselves. Children were allowed to move about freely and associate with whomever they chose. They were encouraged and expected to share their work freely with their peers. It gave them a chance to connect with people with whom they needed or wanted to connect. But along with this freedom of choice, which for some was a good thing, Lensmire also reported the less friendly side. He saw children involved in confrontations, fights, and teasing. When these behaviors were observed by the teacher, they were dealt with. Children were reprimanded and sent back to work. Lensmire was concerned about those instances which he did not observe, so that he could not influence the outcomes. "These became part of the underground classroom routine" (p. 82). This "underground routine" and its interactions are exactly what need to be recorded and analyzed, to further explore these tensions.

Dyson (1995) argued that children are motivated by their social relationships to write with some children and to exclude others. She described what took place during the free writing time within the second-grade classroom where she was conducting her research. Child-controlled (or child-selected topic) writing frequently involved making written objects for others such as cards and pictures. The children wrote to "establish

or sustain social relationships" (p. 634). The children made themselves available to some of the children as peer collaborators or as members of an audience to review the writing. By allowing children an opportunity to select when and with whom to write without including a discussion about the ramifications of exclusion, examples, such as the following, became part of daily practice.

> Kori approached Duranne, who has been writing poems. Can I do it?, she asked. Duranne kept her head focused on her paper and did not respond. Kori persisted: Will you help me write poems? Again, no response from Duranne. Kori walked away. (p. 634)

In this way, children used this freedom of selection to exclude others from the writing process.

It is true that sometimes it is necessary to work alone, and it is the prerogative of the child to determine when this should take place. However, if this is not part of the discussion when children are introduced to this workshop practice, not only are teachers missing a wonderful opportunity for teaching a lesson, but children are left feeling excluded, and as discussed before, this can lead to withdrawal from the process and failure of children, as described in the example above. "Kori's behavior is atypical, as children seldom directly requested entry into an activity. Nonetheless, her exchange with Duranne does illustrate children's potential for creating and constraining writing opportunities for each other" (Dyson, 1995, p. 634).

In an earlier study, Dyson found other examples within the classroom, such as lists that children made of the good kids and the bad kids, "...which imitated the P.E. teacher's disciplinary tactics," and signs such as "Keep Out," were ways children used writing to control others' behavior (Dyson, 1985, p. 634). This writing also was used to structure and continue the social network within this classroom.(Dyson, 1985)

> As sociolinguistic research has demonstrated, the way one views one's role in a particular situation affects how one participates in that situation. The children, then, seem to have different experiences in this

> event, not because of the teacher's plans but because of the stance they adopted-the aspect of themselves they displayed as they stood in front of their peers. The children's sensitivity to varied literacy functions illustrates that their sense of literacy's social role is influenced by their membership in a literacy community.... (p. 637)

Children continued to demonstrate what they knew and understood about the rules of literacy that they were expected to follow as set by their literacy community.

Children are also members of many communities, much broader than the classroom. They are part of family groups, neighborhood groups and peer groups within classrooms. These concurrent group memberships may influence children's behavior during writing within the classroom, for both the official and unofficial tasks. There is no guarantee that all children will interpret an activity in the same way. Individual children may be writing for different purposes, for different audiences, and with different moods. Therefore, children have, "...very different writing behaviors and resulting messages (Dyson, 1985, p. 638)." As a friend told Dyson, " School is ten percent learning and ninety percent being part of the intricate, rarely mentioned and yet completely understood hierarchy which determines who is whose partner and who sits next to who, etc." (p. 638).

Sharing Writing with Peers

In Writing Workshop, children are given time to share their writing with peers. The whole group of children is gathered, and the writers are expected to read their writing to everyone. This routine makes it difficult for children to avoid undesirable peer audiences. Although Graves' (1983) and Calkins'(1986) beliefs were used to shape the structure of this sharing part of the workshop, their approaches to the tensions inherent within this process overestimate the extent to which teachers can influence and repair peer conflict. Workshop advocates' belief that interventions, such as teacher modeling of response and rules of behavior, would suffice, was not found to

be accurate in Lensmire's study (1994). The mere presence and absence of seemingly appropriate responses might be both meaningful and hurtful. Because of the underground nature of such responses, teachers may be powerless as mediators (Lensmire, 1994), unless the responses' existence can be documented and discussed. Video and audio tapes could be useful tools, here.

The writing of children and adults involves "... an exposure of ourselves to others and makes us vulnerable to others " (Lensmire, 1994, p. 83) It is this vulnerability that makes it necessary to trust and to rely on friendship, actions which are continually negotiated. Lensmire realized that he had limited access to and limited influence over the workings of these multiple peer audiences. He reported an observation of a child, Karen, who would not read in front of another child, Ken. This incident raised the following questions:

> [W]as it important that Ken was a popular middle class boy and Karen a quiet unpopular working class girl? Was it important that Ken and Karen were two black children in a predominantly white classroom? (p. 124)

Teachers have limited control over these important aspects of peer relations. "At any given moment children are working out their relations with each other and they are doing it from their past, behind our backs and outside the room as well as within situations we have greater access to and upon which we exert greater influence" (p. 124). Experiences such as fights would have a direct effect on the relationships established by the children. These experiences would not help children to build trust, which they expressed was a precondition necessary for the sharing to be a positive experience.

Children within this study (Lensmire, 1994) also reported feeling that, although being made fun of by other children would be controlled by the teacher, what they feared the most was a different form of rejection. They feared not being part of the discussion process. One child's response to being asked why she would not share her

work with peers demonstrated this concern: "... [B]ecause, cause, for some people, it, nobody would, would um [sic], answer or ask questions. I know that" (p. 131). This was an active silence, one that appeared to cause concern for many children and one for which children did not believe teachers could be helpful.

Although some children within this study (Lensmire, 1994) believed that they would not share with certain children for various reasons:

> [S]ome of them had lice, they stunk, ... did not like their styles or their personalities.... Friendship and trust (or the lack of it) were the most common reasons given for their decisions, especially when children were asked why they did not want to work with certain children. (p. 136)

Children avoided certain peers as audiences and turned to other ones for support. These alternative audiences were those whom they trusted, and included teachers, or else they went outside the classroom community to include children's parents. Children selected their audiences based upon friendships that they were continuing to negotiate.

> Writing is risky, and the children in the workshop experienced this to a greater or lesser degree. An important part of what made writing risky to them was sharing their work with peers. On the one hand, we risk exposing ourselves and our work to criticism when we share it with others. On the other hand, audiences are sources of support and we often write exactly because we want others to read our texts-sharing our work is part of a communicative transaction in written language. (Lensmire, 1994, p. 57)

Audiences are sources of risk. The chances that the audience will reject the written work and the author, too, are always present for writers.

But audiences are also sources of affirmation, or encouragement, which cannot be appreciated until the writing is shared. Students are faced with this dilemma, and solve it by choosing to share the writing with those they trust. They share with friends, those peers with whom they have past experiences in common which have allowed

them to build friendship. "These are people with common history who have seen early attempts to write and think and ... believe there was something lurking there beneath all the confusion" (Lensmire, 1994, p. 89).

Because children within the workshop had to write (this was not their choice) they were faced with these tensions daily. They made choices about with whom they would share their work, choices which were quite satisfactory only for those children who had many friends. In her study of kindergarten children, Phinney (1992) found that those who did not have many friends were left sharing with a much smaller group. One girl who didn't feel comfortable sharing with any of her peers shared her work exclusively with the teacher.

Friendship, Story Characters and Social Status

Phinney's (1992) findings illustrated how children used stories to shape their social standing within the classroom, and the ways that they only participated with those children they trusted. Phinney's study focused on the social interactions of kindergarten children as they engaged in peer writing activities during free choice periods. The theoretical proposition which framed this study was that children may use writing in peer groups to advance their social agendae.

> The girls within this study fictionalized themselves and their friends in their writing as a way to help them comprehend the relationships and interactions that make up their social worlds. The fantasy element gave the children distance from reality and allowed them to adjust reality so that it became manipulated and manageable. (p. 158)

The fictionalizing of characters within the stories allowed children to both define how children related to each other and to test out their understandings of relationships against their friends' understandings. The peer responses told the writers whether their interpretations were supported by the group. This allowed writing practice within this classroom to also become part of the socializing process for these children.

For example, when Deborah found that Ruth was not going to accept a low status position in Deborah's story without lowering Deborah's status within Ruth's story, Deborah adjusted her original character assignment until Ruth was satisfied. As they placed themselves and their friends in fictionalized roles in their stories, the girls may have been helping themselves understand their own real life social relationships (Phinney, 1992).

The girls in this study (Phinney, 1992) used the activity of writing and of constructing stories that included themselves and their friends to maintain both their sense of connectedness with the group as well as their sense of autonomy. Acceptance within their friends' stories meant that they were recognized members of the community.

> Through the ways in which their friends characterized them, they were learning what their roles and status were within that group and at that time within that location and with respect to that activity. They discovered where they stood in the shifting social hierarchies at any given moment....When the children were relegated temporarily to a low position in someone else's story, their own writing gave them a vehicle to elevate themselves. As Deborah said, "I love when I get to be the littlest in my stories." (p. 159)

The ability to negotiate their positions as characters within the stories of their peers let them know how much power they had to change their status and that of their peers. They could let their friends know how they wanted to be seen, using their involvement in others' stories to project a social image of themselves. "Social story construction became not only an affirmation and a mirror reflection of who they were and how they stood as social beings, but their writing became a way for them to construct and be reconstructed as who they were in the social circumstance" (p. 159). These co-constructions and their tensions in Writing Workshop are what I would like to explore.

Friendship and trust are major social considerations. It is no surprise then to find these as major concerns for children within the classroom. Young children seem

to want to be seen, be heard and be touched daily by their peers as well as by the teacher. Friendship becomes a big part of how children negotiate through their day. Much of the content of their conversations involves interpreting events which influence friendship. These conversations have become included within the Writing Workshop.

Phinney (1992) found that the girls within her study continued to negotiate friendship through their writing. It became a way for children to comprehend the rules and roles of their social world. This writing added to their understandings of human social relationships. These children were able to judge the acceptability of their interpretations by the reactions of the children who were included within their stories.

Summary

Within these two studies by Phinney and Lensmire, there were differences in the measure of friendship. The girls within Phinney's study (1992) were trusted friends who were trying to understand how their social hierarchy operated. The children in Lensmire's study (1994) used audience approval as an indicator of friendship. However, both studies pointed to the importance of friendship, and to how much time and effort children spent on reaffirming these relationships. It is this social aspect of writing which continues to be of great importance to children, and through which classroom community is co-constructed.

Students' Representations of Cultural Differences

> I was thinking about the matter of cultural archetypes and positive black images as I came out of the subway not long ago. Just ahead of me I saw a little black child of about seven accompanied by her mother. She was wearing a bright pink hat that said "Barbie" in white knit letters, with a little white knit copyright symbol just after the name. I wondered if that might mean that there is a black Barbie doll on the market, hunkered down in her Barbie Dream House waiting bravely for Ken. Or if there might even be a black Ken doll out there, clean-shaven, crewcut, with knees that don't bend... Does [the black Barbie] look more like Diana Ross or Janet Jackson?... Is Barbie, that anorectic instrument of white women's oppression, capable of being black?
>
> Patricia Williams, *The Rooster's Egg; On the Persistence of Prejudice*, 1995, p.133

James Banks (1992) suggests that confronting cultural assumptions is an essential part of education for children. He asserts that children from non mainstream cultures and ethnic backgrounds, where languages other than English are spoken, have their cultural assumptions challenged when they enter school. Their classroom experiences force them to confront ways of behaving, speaking, and valuing that are different from their home experiences.

I reviewed several studies that related to the ways that children faced issues of culture when they attended school. The two that I have selected to report were chosen because they both related to the research questions that I asked regarding culture as a tension during Writing Workshop. Both of these studies discussed the issue of culture in children's writing and in their conversations.

The first study that I reviewed looked at the writing of children from a combined kindergarten/first-grade classroom. This school served both a low-income and working- class African-American community and an ethnically diverse middle and working-class European American community. The purpose of this study was to explore the ways that children used varied kinds of language art forms and traditions, oral and written, as they constructed and participated in their school community (Dyson, 1993). Through the study of one of the children's writing, Dyson was able to illustrate the process through which some children must negotiate among "intersecting social worlds" (p. 109).

The children in this classroom were learning to participate in a complex social environment where three distinct worlds overlapped.

> There was the official school world, in which they were "students"; the peer world, in which they were "co-workers" (and perhaps "friends"); and the world of their respective home communities, which re-formed in the classroom amidst networks of peers. Each world required particular kinds of social work and valued particular kind of ways with words. To negotiate their membership vis-a-vis these groups, the children drew on diverse cultural resources. (p. 2)

Although there were several children in this study that were discussed, for the purpose of this review, I am going to limit my focus to one, Jameel. The study of this student showed the ways that he brought together official and unofficial worlds, "...supporting efforts to be 'at home' at school" (p. 109).

Early in the year Jameel merely coexisted with his peers. He learned, as the year progressed, to negotiate, through language, new relationships with his peers. He began by writing stories that he knew would attract the attention of his peers. Stories that would make them laugh because they were modeled or patterned after stories that were previously shared with the class and had already been established as funny stories.

Jameel had some difficulty which required negotiation. Although he had established a strategy for story design, it did not always provide him with a text that was understood by all the members of the classroom. One example of the need to negotiate with peers came from the lack of understanding by one student when Jameel shared his story.

While Jameel was trying to share his story with his audience, Mollie was trying to help a needy peer. To maintain control, Jameel used questions to place Mollie herself in the needy student stance and then interpreted her directives as requests for help.

Jameel: What part of it doesn't make sense?
Peer: (unidentified) It makes sense to me. You can tell with his picture.
Mollie: It doesn't make sense.
Jameel: If your mother got hit, wouldn't you call 911...
Mollie: It doesn't make sense.
Mollie: Read the story.
Jameel: What doesn't make sense?
Mollie: Read it to me again.
Jameel: Ok. You can read all these words.
Mollie: No I can not. They're all smashed together. (p.116)

The conversation continued with Mollie making suggestions and changes to Jameel's story and Jameel becoming more frustrated until he yelled at Mollie and she left.

Dyson explains that each child saw this from a different perspective. Jameel believed that Mollie was trying to drag text out of him that he did not want to tell. Molly felt that as an audience member she had the right to demand literacy sense. She did not understand the performance tool that Jameel used to explain his story. It was different from the stories that she wrote that used a straightforward, communitive style. Dyson felt that it was clear that Jameel was uncomfortable sharing control of the text. This discomfort led to classroom tension. The teacher used the principles of the Writing Workshop, with writers bringing drafts to Author's Circle and peers acting as "editors" of those drafts (Calkins, 1986; Graves, 1983) as she began to "... redefine Jameel's classroom stages for performance, that is , she began to change her own role as interlocutor in his social dialog" (p. 119).

As the year progressed, Jameel continued to have a difficult time with negotiations. His style of presentation inevitably interfered with the perceived style of story writing. He was drawing on influences from his "home sphere" and trying to make them work in his "official sphere" with his "peer sphere" cooperating. He was not having a successful experience. He then began to write in a style described as "cartoon stories" which became the "... first known instance of Jameel explicitly using a genre (or generic features) that he knew was not a normal part of the official scene in the classroom but felt should be" (p. 127). He connected these stories to others that were located around the classrooms and discussed why their place as a genre style should be accepted. He continued to perform his pieces as he shared them with the members of his classroom. "He situated interpretation of the story composing event, and of the kinds of discourse strategies it demanded, drew on a complex of voices that reflected o only his sociocultural past-the oral traditions of his community-but also his sociocultural present, including cartoons, jokes, and the rhythmic prose and poetry of the most socially valued children's literature and of his everyday world" (p.131).

As the classroom world became more defined, Dyson reported that Jameel began to change his classroom social place. His performance of text changed from movement and voices to just voices as he began to move into the peer network. His negotiation in his peer network was not easy as he was often positioned into collegial or collaborative roles that he resisted. Although the outbursts continued when peers critiqued his writing, Jameel began to develop stronger peer relationships. He was often criticized by peers for his behavior but these same peers included him in their discussions and seemed to look out for his well-being. However, it was his oral performance that drew from his "home sphere" that was his greatest resource for classroom participation as well as the source of most of his school conflict.

In her conclusion, Dyson stated that Jameel's text supported his actions in diverse social spheres. He did not cross from "home sphere" to "school sphere" but was able to create a "home" in school for himself. He worked to negotiate a role for himself. He was able to construct ,"... crossroads through writing, a social place for himself in a complex world. His first-grade year was not without its tensions, but tensions are to be expected when people are forging new relationships and learning new skills" (p. 153).

In a very powerful ending to this chapter of her study, Dyson said,

> As an adult member of our society, I must worry about the many young children, like Jameel, who are burdened with economic and social circumstances that they had no role in creating and have no power in fixing. Those circumstances and the power to confront them have sources beyond the classroom walls. And yet, as an educator, I also have faith in the future well-being of children. And, most immediately, as a friend of Jameel's, I must have hope for a children with such a sense of agency and negotiated possibility and belief in the potential power of schools to continue to give him access to useful tools for composing his life (p.154).

In another study of a second-grade classroom, Dyson (1997) reports similar findings focused on Author's Theater within this classroom. She found issues of culture which became apparent when romantic relationships were being explored. In

this study, she also found that one of the children who was the focus of her study, Sammy, also spent little time physically writing but relied on oral negotiations to tell his stories. He, too, was drawing upon his African-American culture to convey the meaning of his writings.

In this study, Dyson also discusses the writing and the drawing of three female African-American students. She reports an incident where these children were drawing mythological heroines as they had seen in a story read by their teacher. The children's story lines also followed examples from popular movies and television shows. Two of the children drew their characters as white women with long blond hair but one drew her character with brown skin and long black hair. The children had a discussion about the differences in their drawings. When asked about the drawings, the teacher said that it didn't matter. She told them that they could draw the characters the way that they imagined them to look. "... after Kristen leaves, all three girls suggests that it does matter" (p. 141).

One of the students comments to Dyson that the drawings must have long blond hair. When Dyson suggests that their hair, " ... could be black hair like Tina's and also like Makeda's..., I don't think so (p. 141)," was the comment by Makeda.

Lena, who was outlining her Venus with a black crayon explained to the other two children that this was done so her drawing would show up on her paper even though she knew that this is not the right color to use. "People from Greece are not White - I mean, are not Black (p. 141)." This comment began a conversation where culture was a source of tension.

> Yes they can be! counters Tina.
> I don't think so, says Makeda, not to Tina. I think she's [Venus is] White.
> Well maybe she's white to you, but not to me! responds Tina. (p.142)

The teachers comment to them to use their imaginations was not helpful in making it possible for these girls to see culture as not having an impact on these

characters. Tina drew her character as a Black Venus. Her actions allowed the room for Makeda to do the same.

This study carried the children through third grade. The issue of culture negotiation continued. In the third grade, Dyson (1997) reports the following incident where, once again, culture negotiation was precipitated due to romantic teasing. "When Makeda and Aloyse teased Sammy about having liked Sarah in second grade, Sammy told them that his new girlfriend (who remained unnamed) was Black" (p. 146).

Race, as a semantic category, is not woven into our grammar as is gender. The individuals in stories as well as in conversation are inevitably "he's or she's" (Dyson, 1997). Race only became salient when the children began to represent romantic situations.

> Since the children tended to give roles in appropriated romances to those who looked the part, their choices of actors articulated race as an aspect of media grammar, that is, of the pattern of who is included and who is excluded in certain narrative contexts. To reiterate, when race became an explicit issue (after one child said that another had to be White), it was articulated as a matter of dramatic access - of who could play a White character (p. 152).

These two studies looked at the ways that culture, as "... shared ways of interpreting symbols, based on shared experiences...(p.163), was visible in children's writings and in their conversations. Dyson (1997) was able to identify and report on these occurrences within a second grade classroom where the writing process was part of their daily writing experience. It is within this context that I too have looked for examples of children's negotiations of tensions related to culture while they participated in Writing Workshop.

Social Justice

This section of the literature review is a brief discussion of the literature related to social justice instruction within elementary classrooms. This section is included to ground the pedagogical approach used within my classroom, but is not intended as a major literature review of this topic. My research was most concerned with children's

interactions during Writing Workshop instruction, and not with the pedagogical approaches involved with the implementation of a social justice curriculum.

Researchers (Erikson, 1963; Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1987; Piaget, 1965) have conducted extensive studies on the development of ethical and moral thinking in children. They have observed children's capacity to resolve conflict and abide by rules. The underlying idea of their work is that learning is active, and that children learn these rules by constructing schemata based upon their own experiences as well as by internalizing culturally appropriate models which are presented to them. When children are allowed to encounter problems and then encouraged to solve them, we are helping them to acquire the knowledge that they need to refine their concepts.

From this developmental perspective, children view rules as based on social conventions rather than individual authority. Young children, usually around the ages of 3 or 4, become aware of the shared nature of norms and values which are necessary for them to continue to participate. "They struggle for the uniformity and consistency of rules, often at the expense of anything else. They begin to see rules as existing outside of adults, as part of society and its conventions, which prompts children to consider other factors besides the calculated risks or rewards of their most immediate intentions" (Charney, p. 53). As they develop and reach the ages of 6 or 7, many children begin to form an interest in ethical matters and a concern for what is fair. They begin to discuss a concern for the well-being of others and move away from their limited focus on themselves. "They are beginning to believe that rules are necessary for the game to work, for events to be fair, and for everyone to meet their obligations to the group" (Charney, p. 53). It is their understanding of the necessity for rules that makes it necessary for them to understand the importance of establishing rules that show respect and include all members within the classroom.

In her work on the development of moral thinking in women, Gilligan (1982) identified two ways in which people characteristically think about moral conflicts. One

was called the "ethic of justice" and the other was the "ethic of care." In the ethic of justice, thinking is focused on issues of equality and reciprocity, with everyone getting a fair share. In the ethic of care, concerns center on needs for connection with others; conflicts may involve such issues as being left out or abandoned by others, or acting in such a way that someone will have their feelings hurt. Critical values involve obligations to relationship, to show care for others. In her findings, these two approaches or "voices" are frequently identified by gender. "Boys have a greater concern for issues of justice, girls for issues of response and connection"(Gilligan, p. 127). From an educational viewpoint, the idea would be to encourage both an ethic of care and an ethic of justice, by providing girls with opportunities to examine the merits of a situation and boys with opportunities to face up to questions of attachment and care-taking. My study showed that these two approaches or "voices" were spoken by children. However, in addition to the gender influence, children's concerns for justice were also influenced by the social status assignments that were operating within this classroom. The need to be treated with respect and to be included was not extended to all members equally by all members of this classroom.

In her book, <u>You Can't Say You Can't Play</u>, Palely described life in her kindergarten classroom. She reported observations that she made regarding the ways that her students negotiated tensions related to writing and drawing and how she was able to guide them in making rules. These rules were intended to include all children in the activities and to be part of a larger understanding of how life was to work within their classroom.

Once the children and their teacher described the new rule, "You can't say you can't play," there were several applications for its use. Telling stories that were not true and keeping secrets were two that she described. She also pointed out that exclusion within her classroom was more of a habit of some of the children than a focus on the identity of the person who was being excluded. So the major obstacle become breaking

that habit. She talked about the "worst-friends list" and how this was something that some girls did during the day. The purpose of this list was to have an activity and not to focus on the continual exclusion of one student. This became the habit that she tried to help the students break.

In her work, Paley (1992) discusses how easy it is for children to try to get around the rules that the others and she agreed to and how often some children will continue to look for chances to succeed. One way that she describes to eliminate exclusion generated by status was through the choice of language. She states that, "Children with appealing ideas will always have followers, but the word "boss" creates problems. Another designation is needed. Words make a difference." It was the use of language that these children were beginning to understand and utilize when negotiation was necessary.

Although the foundations of social values (Coates & Cameron, 1989), in theory, do support the idea of including ethical pedagogical practice, my understanding and application came about through far less formal instruction. Most of my experiences have come from my classroom experiences and the shared discussions which I have had with my colleagues over the twenty years that I have worked in an elementary classroom. During the late 1970's and early 1980's, social justice became part of the teaching culture. While workshops were offered which addressed the many minicultures which made up the school systems that I worked with, the questions and conversations about daily interactions with children and their families led me to begin to modify my approach to classroom interaction. It was the learning that took place on the job, rather than the extensive reading of materials and implementation of curricula specifically aimed at social justice and change, that caused me to stop teaching unwarily, and to make sure that daily issues, as they arose, did not go unaddressed. This learning, which came from my observations of the lives of my students and their families, has informed my teaching practice. It is these experiences which I continue to

have, as well as the discussions with teachers, children, and their families, that I credit as providing this piece to my overall knowledge of classroom life, and which have shaped my classroom practice.

Through discussions and observations of life within my classroom, I began to include a social justice principle as a component of my curriculum. I focused my lessons on issues that seemed to be most important to the children and ones that dealt with ethical questions regarding respect and inclusion.

Summary of Literature Review

As educators, we recognize that children come to school as proficient users of the

language of their home and community culture. We recognize that the process of literacy learning is very similar to that of learning oral language. We are just beginning to recognize how proficient children are at using the social interaction system in which they have also been participants for a very long time. The findings from the studies reviewed in this chapter show that children can fulfill their social agendae from a very early age, and can use this information when given the opportunity during the classroom Writing Workshop.

The rules for Writing Workshop were enacted to help teachers improve classroom writing instruction practices by providing more choices for children. It was felt that this increase in student choice would also bring about an increase in the quality of children's writing. Through the availability of choice and the different role of the teacher, from the ultimate authority to a position of collaborator, new social concerns began to develop within classrooms that needed to be addressed. These issues grew from the children being allowed and encouraged to choose writing topics and to choose writing partners. From these choices, children now began to experience questions regarding respect and inclusion.

There were three issues of tensions that I chose to review in this chapter: gender, culture, and friendship and trust. I divided gender into two sections. Each section reviewed literature which discussed a different issue related to gender. These included: the choice of texts children write and the choice of partners that they select. I reported gender influences on the genre used by children in their writing and ways that stereotypic understandings are portrayed within their writing. I also wrote about the choices of writing partners that children make and how these selections exclude some children from the available resources which are the underpinnings of the Writing Workshop.

The next section reviewed friendship and trust. In this section I discussed research related to ways children select peers as their writing partners. I also reviewed studies that showed ways that children used stories to shape the social standing which they held within the classroom. Both of these sections described the tensions that are part of the Writing Workshop model and the importance of making these topics visible to children. These studies point to the fact that gender and friendship are very strong forces which children must negotiate while completing the writing tasks asked of them by the teacher.

In the next section I reviewed two studies which look at ways that culture was made visible within children's writings and their conversations. These studies specifically discussed issues of tension that children face with each other while working during Writing Workshop, and showed how children's knowledge of the dominant culture can affect the ways that they reproduce characters in their writing as well as ways that this information influences conversations that take place in classrooms. This section was included because it describes the ways that children must negotiate tensions which arise during Writing Workshop. These studies show why allowing children the time to discuss issues of tension and understanding their perspectives plays such an important role in their success within the classroom.

In the final section of this chapter I review theories related to social justice curriculum. I used the literature of social justice coupled with the importance of knowing children to define the social justice principle that I taught the children within my class. These studies looked at a developmental perspective of children's understanding of fairness. I reviewed studies that looked at ways that ethical stances are constructed and the difference that gender plays in this construction. I also reviewed a book that described the way the teacher set up rules and how these rules were interpreted by these children. The points that these studies raised and discussed were used to direct and support the goals of my research study.

The studies reviewed suggest that it is important to identify the social elements children must manage in Writing Workshop, because they are being required to write within a social and interactive environment. It is important to recognize that children must develop coping strategies to accommodate their changing social agendae while they are being required to write with others. Their ability to show successful accommodation to the social as well as the academic demands of the classroom becomes part of their academic evaluation. Awareness of these social processes that affect children's identities and the strategies that they use to establish their social positions will help us to look for answers to the concerns we have about their learning. These answers will necessarily go beyond the individual deficit or cultural deprivation models of causation for the failure to learn to read and write in school.

If social interaction and identity are important with respect to writing, and if they are a significant influence for writing success, then they become an important part of the schooling practice. This should not go unchallenged. For example, if some kinds of writing activities encourage some children to focus on issues of status and gender within their writing, then teachers need to decide how children ought to be critically examining and learning to manage these elements.

These studies also implied that education goes far beyond the acquisition of knowledge. They have shown how children's co-constructed identities can be affected by the social interactions occurring during school tasks, and their successes or failures can be related to their social success.

My study looked at ways that the issues of children's use of social conventions influences their writing. I studied the children's writing during Writing Workshop and looked for occurrences of tensions which related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust. I looked at the ways that they began to negotiate with each other when tensions relating to these social conventions became a part of their writing experience. I used their tensions and the negotiations that they practiced to focus my search throughout this study. The specific way in which I conducted this study is described in the following chapter on methodology.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This is a qualitative case study designed to explore the ways that second-grade students utilized the principle of social justice that they had been taught when they were later confronted with social tensions during Writing Workshop. Specifically, this study seeks to:

1). identify the ways that children used the social justice principle to help negotiate social tensions in their writing

2). identify the ways that children used the social justice principle to help negotiate social tensions in their conversations

I have arranged this chapter in the following way. The first few sections are written to provide the reader with background to this study. I include the setting, the ways that I gained access to the site, a description of the participants, and my role as researcher. The following sections: data collection instruments, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedures explain the methods that I used to conduct this study. This is followed with a description of the ways that I maintained credibility, the limitations to the study, and the ethical considerations I adhered to for this study. I end this chapter with a summary of the methodology.

Setting

Wyngate Elementary School was part of the Brooklawn Regional School District.

There were several elementary schools in this school district. Wyngate Elementary was the smallest and the most traditional in design. With its brick facade and its row of

rectangular windows, Wyngate Elementary School looked like many of the elementary schools built in the 1960's.

There were 22 regular classrooms, each connected with a movable wall on one side and a solid wall on the other. It would be possible to open the movable wall by folding back the panels and having a classroom space that was twice the size. For most of the classrooms, the movable walls remained closed. There were several other rooms that were used by specialists who work with children who received instruction outside the regular classroom. There were also two modular buildings used for a part of the special education program at Wyngate School.

The second graders who were part of this study worked in room 14. This was one of three rooms that housed the second grade that year. This classroom was located across from the school library. As you entered from the hall, art displays were mounted on the walls and doors. There were seasonal reminders such as leaves and fall activities as well as a display of titles of children's books. There were also signs which labeled the materials in this second-grade classroom.

The student desks were arranged in clusters of 6. Four of these clusters were spread throughout the room with two larger tables at opposite ends of the room. There were several small book shelves filled with children's books that separated different areas of the classroom. A class library, a math area, a science area and a computer area were all easily distinguishable. There was a rectangular brown wood table that was placed near the door to an adjoining classroom. This table was next to a large open area with a blue rug. This was the class meeting area and the table was the class writing table. The bulk of the data for this study was collected from these two spaces. A map on page 72 in chapter 4 shows where these activities took place.

During the Writing Workshop time the students used many of the areas of the classroom. They sat at the student desks as well as the tables that were set around the room. Some also worked in the computer area where they typed their stories. Others

chose to work on the rug in the class meeting area next to the writing table. The camera that was used to record children's conversations and behaviors was set up at the end of this table.

Access

My access to the site of the study was gained through my reputation as a veteran teacher, having taught a range of elementary grades, as well as my assignment as teacher to this second-grade classroom in this school. Although I have taught in other schools, I have been a second-grade teacher at this school for nine years and continued to be a classroom teacher while conducting this research. The children who participated in this study were my second-grade students.

I met with the principal and explained what I wanted to do during the school year and why I believed that this was an important project. I explained the idea of the study that was going to take place that year. After reviewing my request, he added his support. I also informed the superintendent and the school committee of my intention to conduct research in my classroom. They, too, gave their approval for this study.

Participants

The students who participated in this study all attended second-grade. Cultural backgrounds represented by the students in this second-grade classroom were: African-American, Indian, Hispanic, and European. There were eight girls and seven boys who participated in this study. These 15 students were all enrolled in this second grade when the study began, participated in this study and remained constant through its duration.

This classroom was part of a larger second grade team which included three classrooms and three teachers. I was one of the three teachers. Although there were times when two of the three classes worked together on projects (during several social

studies, science or math projects), the students worked as two separate groups during the times that the data was collected. The children viewed themselves primarily as students from one of the two classrooms. They saw their allegiance to the teacher in that classroom.

Students who volunteered for this study were required to provide a signed permission form. Students' signatures along with the signature of their parents/guardians were required. All students who were involved in this study returned signed consent forms. A sample of the consent form is listed in the appendix. I made no effort to select certain students for this study. Pseudonyms for children are used throughout this study.

The students showed varying academic abilities. There was no dramatic difference between the students within this second grade and any other group of second-grade students that I had worked with during my tenure at this school.

Four students who participated in this study received special services from the school district. One student received Chapter I reading instruction. Two students received instruction through Special Education, and one student received instruction through the English as a Second Language program. All of these students who received their instruction in pull-out programs were available for some or all of the Writing Workshop time and were able to participate in this study.

Role of the Researcher

During the time of this study I participated in the daily classroom life in two ways. First, I was the classroom teacher. Second, my role was that of an observer. Although all teachers are observers, my observations for the purpose of this study were more overt. I conducted a series of observations, interviews and checks of data about classroom life and writing from the students. I talked with the children about why they

were doing something or why they made a certain choice, questions that seemed pertinent to the focus of this study.

As the teacher and as a participant researcher, I combined the responsibility for the day-to-day planning and teaching within this classroom with the responsibility of data collection. In the role of the classroom teacher, I was responsible for adhering to the curriculum and expectations inherent in that role as described by my teaching contract. I participated in all the responsibilities inherent to this position.

As a researcher, I conducted a series of observations through personal involvement with the children. I had to get the camera ready and make sure that all of the technical aspects of recording data were prepared. I explained to the children that I was collecting data for a study, and that they could be part of this "special work" about children's learning. I also conducted interviews with the students, and checks of data about the daily interactions at the writing table during Writing Workshop time. I discussed with students what they were doing as they wrote and asked questions which further informed my study.

Examining one's biases and assumptions is an important aspect of qualitative research. I knew that I entered this study as a classroom teacher and the classroom was mine. I knew that the teacher within me wanted to find everything to be "fine," because it was painful for me to realize that there were children in my classroom who did not feel connected, and that there were children in my classroom who were purposefully hurting others. These "problems" were very difficult for me to acknowledge. Part of this research was to help me understand what I had been doing with children for many years, and to help me see how I might do a better job in the future.

Based on my own experiences, I see qualitative classroom research as offering special opportunities. I believe that encouraging children to work with each other as they helped me with this research study helped to develop a bonding as a community and a desire within them to act more respectfully towards each other. I also believe that

I have a responsibility to bring about pedagogical change. Using pedagogy that included cooperative learning, class meetings, and conflict resolution strategies as well as social justice and responsibility could have fostered these changes. In some cases it did. In others, it did not.

I exerted every effort to maintain an open mind and to understand that there were many factors that influenced the children's behavior and that behaviors varied from day to day. I understood that this classroom environment may not have addressed the needs of all the children in the classroom, and tried to be mindful of the conflicts and tensions felt by those I was unable to reach.

Data Collection Instruments

Data collection for this study, described in greater detail in this section, took place within one classroom from the beginning of the school year, after the permission slips were returned, through the last days of school, over the course of one year. I made one observation daily, which occurred during the Writing Workshop time each morning. Each observation was usually one hour in length.

I collected a corpus of data which included conversations and writings that children produced during Writing Workshop within my second grade classroom, including: personal profiles on each student; over 200 pages of field notes; 52 hours of videotaped conversations and interactions of children working at the classroom writing table; about 20 hours of classroom interactions and interviews with students and the myself, recorded on 7 audiotapes; 96 photographs of students and myself working; and photocopies of approximately 100 pages of students' writings. Additional resources that I used were daily seating charts and copies of the teacher lesson plans that I used throughout the data collection period.

The students' writing samples were collected at the end of each Writing Workshop time. I made a copy of their final published text and kept these in a file. I

wrote notes on these copies which indicated the date that they were completed and whether or not the author had chosen to share their finished writing with the other students at Author's Circle. These published pieces were filed along with the drafts and any notes that I had collected during the time that this piece had been written. Within each file I kept the notes from interviews and transcribed conversations that had occurred when a written piece was shared at Author's Circle.

Field notes were written during all observations unless I was teaching another group of students at the time. When this occurred, I used the video tape of the Writing Workshop as my record and would record my observations of the students activities that I was able to remember in my field notes as soon after the event as possible. This recording usually took place during the next segment of the same day that the data was collected. This was an individual journal writing time for the children. This would afford me time each day to expand my field notes with ongoing analysis, hypothesis, and questions related to my field observations. I reviewed my notes daily and used this review to guide the observations that I would make on the following day. I also included a personal profile section within this log that allowed me to add information as needed with regard to specific student social interactions that I observed and felt pertained to the study.

I video taped the students at the writing table and at Author's Circle during Writing Workshop time daily over the course of one year. Each of these tapes was usually 60 minutes in length. I maintained an index log of these tapes where I recorded time, participants, and topics of conversations. I also included the titles of texts being written during this event to facilitate my retrieval of notes when needed for the analysis of a particular student's text.

I recorded 20 hours of interviews with students regarding issues related to the writing that they had published or related to their feelings from the audience response to their shared text during Author' Circle. These interviews were designed to elicit

information that had not been made clear to me through the taping, or that were related to questions that I had written down during the sharing of a text at Author's Circle. There were also interviews that I structured to help me understand what had taken place when students were upset about something related to the writing process.

Additional resources were classroom seating charts and class lesson plans. The seating charts allowed me to notice patterns in behavior and student choice of partners at the writing table. The teacher lesson plans allowed me to maintain a record of the topics and lessons that I presented during that school year. These lesson plans were coded in two ways. First, I coded the group of lessons that pertained to Writing Workshop. Directions, instructions and procedures would be included in this group. This coding was a green mark at the top of the lesson page in my teacher planning book. This mark would alert me to look at this page for information pertinent to this study included in the weekly plan. The next level of coding included lessons that pertained to specific tensions that had been observed on the previous day or were impromptu lessons that occurred when I determined the need. The latter were usually quickly recorded in my book after the lesson had occurred, as these were not originally planned for that time. They were coded with a red mark.

Data Collection Procedures

Data collected at Writing Workshop time was focused on the writing and conversations that took place at the writing table, the published writing that was shared at Author's Circle, and the classroom lessons that were related to tensions recorded at both of these times. There were three types of data collection: first, writing table interaction data including conversations and writing samples; second, checks of the writing table and Author's Circle data; and third, a look at classroom lessons which related to data collected. Although presented separately, as the study progressed, each of these phases occurred simultaneously.

Data collected at the writing table was collected in two parts. The first part began with broad observations of the student interactions during the first few weeks of school. I used this time to record the students' understanding of the rules and procedures for the different components to the Writing Workshop model and also to acclimate them to the presence of the video camera as well as the microphone for audio recordings. I needed to wait to collect data with video tape to insure that all student permission forms had been signed and returned. These recordings were collected daily during the Writing Workshop time.

The second part of the data collection began with the interviews that I had with children about the conversations which I had recorded and the writing samples that they had published. I directed these interviews with specific questions related to the data that I had collected. I began recording this information in my field note log but found that it was difficult to capture whole conversations. I then began to use audio recordings for these interviews. These interviews continued throughout the school year.

During the last few weeks of September, I began to notice that the students were separating themselves into various social groups when choosing to work at the writing table. I wanted to understand more about these groups and began to maintain seating charts to better inform me of who was sitting with whom and how long these seating patterns continued. I also wanted to be sure that I had a representative sample of each of the social groups that I was observing. These groups will later be referred to as **"peer status groups."**

I developed two ways of checking on my interpretations of the writing table and Author's Circle data. First, I used the data that I was collecting to develop a profile on the students' social groups. The profiles helped me to better understand how students' social groups influenced what was taking place at the writing table. The second way of checking came from the interviews that I used. I asked specific questions related to the

tensions that I was observing during Writing Workshop at the writing table and during Author's Circle, which I now added to the interviews. These interviews were audio taped with my notes used as a backup.

Finally, I looked at specific lessons which I had planned that related to the observations I made of students conversations and writings at the writing table. I used my teacher's plan book as a way to record the daily lessons.

Data Analysis Procedure

My general approach in analyzing data was to repeat the following cycle: observing, analyzing, focusing, and observing again, using inductive analysis to develop grounded theory. "Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton, 1980, p. 306).

The data analysis began on the first day of school. The data that was collected was reviewed regularly using methods of ethnography (Patton, 1990; Spradley, 1980) and Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Grounded theory, an approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), was used to analyze the data,. This method involves categorizing the data, developing emergent theory, and testing the theory continually against the data. Erikson (1986) noted that a deliberate search for disconfirming evidence is also essential to the process of analysis. Analysis in grounded theory is composed of three levels. These are "open coding," "axial coding," and "selective coding" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These three are then pulled together to form an analytical framework for grounded theory.

Open Coding

Open coding is the part of the analysis that pertains specifically to naming and categorizing through close examination of the data. During this phase the data was

broken down into differences and I began to create questions about what I was seeing and hearing. "Through this process, one's own and others' assumptions about phenomena are questioned or explored, leading to new directions" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 62).

It was during this phase of data collection, which began with broad observations, that the first record of feelings and goals of the participants was recorded. Video and audio taped interactions were reviewed at this time along with the students' published texts. Several themes relating to tensions at the writing table from students' conversations and at Author's Circle began to emerge: gender stereotyping, friendship and trust relationships, misunderstandings about rules and procedures, personal life events, inappropriate language use by other students, unfair punishments, jokes and stories, and discussion that related to academic concerns.

Axial Coding

Axial coding is the next phase. The data collected were put together by making connections between categories that came from the different ways (field notes, audio and video tapes, daily lesson plans) and different places that data was being collected (data from: the writing table, the student's published texts, interactions at Author's Circle). This data related subcategories to a category by making comparisons and asking questions in a more focused way than that which was done during the open coding phase.

> [E]ach category is developed in terms of the causal conditions that give rise to it, the specific dimensional location of this phenomenon in terms of its properties, the context, the action/interactional strategies used to handle, manage, respond to this phenomenon in light of that context, and the consequences of any action/interaction that is taken. (p.114)

Additional properties of each category were also noted. The questions during this phase were:

1). What tensions were reappearing during the writing table conversations, the editing of student work (both occurred at the writing table), and the sharing at the Author's Circle?

2). Who were the students that were involved?

a). Who initiated the topic?

b). Was it picked up or ignored?

c). Who participated and who did not?

3). What social tensions were being negotiated by students?

4). What teacher directed lessons were being taught which were addressing these tensions?

Selective Coding

Selective coding is the process of determining the core category, and relating it to the other categories. These categories were validated and when needed, further refinement was developed (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.116). The major categories were selected at this point. These were derived from the answers to the questions that were generated during the axial coding phase. These major categories began to emerge: tension related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust.

Grounded theory procedures help with integration of ideas to build an "analytical story" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.142). These phases help to relate all the major categories to the core category and to each other.

During the first few months of school, I reviewed my field notes and looked through the transcripts for patterns of interaction during the time that children spent at the writing table, the times spent at Author's Circle and the lessons that were presented that addressed specific tensions. I then developed event maps that showed patterns of student interaction. I analyzed these for the patterns following the procedure described by the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1994 a). Audio tapes and video

tapes along with children's published texts were more intensively analyzed for patterns of communication and related teacher directed lessons. Selected segments of conversations that took place during Writing Workshop time at the writing table and at Author's Circle were transcribed according to the procedure described by Green and Wallat (1981). These transcripts were selected on the basis of what they showed about the interaction between both student and teacher and student and student.

Interviews were transcribed and common themes were identified. After transcribing the event, I read through it several times to better understand what was being said and by whom. These transcriptions were then categorized according to what I thought was the focus or theme of the conversation. I cross-checked these conversations with others that I had recorded to see if the categories seemed viable. I made adjustments when needed and prepared questions for subsequent interviews based upon the categories that were emerging.

Video tapes of writing table interactions along with Author's Circle times were analyzed. I used the following steps in my analysis procedure: 1) identified instances of tension in the corpus of the video tapes; 2) noted connections between writing table behavior, Author's Circle time and teacher directed lessons; 3) maintained a chronology of the connections over time; 4) listed characteristics and behaviors of these events and; 5) applied what I learned from each tape to subsequent tapes that I reviewed to see if the pattern of events and behaviors were repeated. Each of the tapes, both audio and video, along with the teacher lesson plans were analyzed for recurrent patterns between teacher and students and student and student interactions. I searched for a link or connection between the tensions that occurred at the writing table, the Author's Circle, and the teacher directed lessons.

Credibility

I used three techniques of triangulation to establish credibility in this study (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). The first was the triangulation of sources. This included personal student profiles, field notes, video tape of writing events and Author's Circle, audio taped student interviews, photographs of students working, copies of drafts and published writing, daily seating charts, and weekly lesson plans as documented data sources. These sources allowed me to identify themes and hypotheses that I discovered throughout this study.

The second technique that I used was triangulation of roles. My combined role as both a teacher and researcher afforded me the background histories of each of my students along with the opportunity to observe interactions. As a participant observer, I was able to video tape the students without being immersed in their activities. This allowed me to collect data from various perspectives and come to a clearer understanding of what I was observing.

The final technique that I used to establish credibility in this study was prolonged engagement. The data for this study was collected over one school year. This length of time would qualify as prolonged engagement. I was in the classroom daily and collected and reviewed data making adaptations to my teaching plan which were informed by my research findings. Having the whole year to collect data, coupled with the teacher and the researcher "lenses" that I used, made it possible to see my classroom from a different perspective than I had ever seen it before.

Limitations

There were several possible issues to consider as limitations to this study. These limitations included: the fact that only one class was researched; my personal views toward this classroom; the fact that I was the only researcher conducting this study; and the qualitative case study design. I will discuss each limitation separately.

The first limitation was that only one class of students was used in this study. Although the fifteen students embody a range of personalities, degrees of self-esteem, a variety of cultures, and levels of social and cognitive development, they cannot be said to be representative of second graders in all public schools. Detailed descriptions of the class and school environment as a whole can help the reader to decide if the findings are transferable to another class or another group of students.

The next limitation was my personal view towards this group of students. As their teacher, I was very fond and proud of them and found it difficult not to let my personal feelings for them affect my reactions to the information about them that I was reporting. It was necessary for me to review my reactions to the writings or behaviors that I was reporting with a degree of sensitivity toward this point.

The third limitation was that I was the only researcher conducting this study. Although I made efforts to control this limitation through the triangulation of data, there remains a potential researcher bias which must be acknowledged. The interpretive nature of qualitative research always leaves open the possibility of bias. I sought to reduce this limitation by scrupulous examination of my reactions to and interpretations of events throughout the study, as well as through the use of triangulating methodology, such as multiple data collection methods, and checking my perceptions with the children as well as with other staff that had daily interactions with my class.

The final limitation inherent in this study was the design. A qualitative case study approach was chosen for this study in an effort to understand the complexities of children's writing, talking and behaviors during Writing Workshop times in this classroom environment. "Case study is a design particularly suited to situations where it is impossible to separate the phenomenon's variables from their content" (Merriam, 1988, p. 10). Thus, this study traded off the predictive nature of the findings of an experimental design for a detailed account of a complex phenomenon.

Ethical Considerations

As a classroom teacher and member of this school community, I had to be mindful of ethical considerations. I was privy to information that was not intended to go beyond the walls of my classroom. I had the trust of parents, staff, and more importantly, the trust of the children. Confidentiality and anonymity were difficult to insure, but I did as I had promised on the consent forms. I promised the children that I would not use their real names in this study and that I would keep the video tapes in a secure place. I also showed them the stories that they had written which I chose to use in the study as I had promised before I began to collect the data.

I had to think about how to best present the findings of this study to the people who had entrusted me with their thoughts: my students, the principal, teachers and staff, parents, and members of the school committee. I wanted to make sure that my writing gave a true picture of how the children and I worked together to create our classroom community. Although some of the findings were not easy to share, I felt that it was my responsibility to be as honest as possible. I wrote about what I learned and tried to be sensitive to the feelings of those who were included in this study.

Finally, I must remember that what I have is but one perception that is ever changing of what is occurring within the classroom. It can and should be challenged.

Summary

This qualitative case study of second grade children's communications and writings during Writing Workshop times was conducted in a classroom which stressed social justice ideology. I looked at conversations and writings which took place each day at a writing table, during Writing Workshop times, which were not part of a teacher-directed activity as well as Author's Circle which was directed by the teacher. I also looked at the teacher directed lessons which pertained to the specific tensions that were recorded at the writing table and that occurred in the teacher's presence during

Author's Circle. The primary site of data collection was the writing table; however some data was collected during the Author's Circle component of the Writing Workshop as well. Data was also collected during times when whole group lessons which focused on issues related to this study were delivered by the teacher.

To relate the social justice principle within my classroom to the ways that children developed a consciousness in their writing and in their interactions during writing time, I specifically looked for key words and phrases that related to inclusion and respect, as well as other evidence in their writing and in their interactions. I looked for both positive and negative evidence of the social justice principle in these documented communicative events.

As I studied the data I looked for the major objectives of the social justice principle that I was teaching the children. I tried to determine how the children and I had defined this and how it was being applied during Writing Workshop time. I analyzed their writings and their conversations to determine the ways that the social justice principle influenced their negotiations. I looked for specific ways that they used inclusion and respect, the objectives of the social justice principle to help them negotiate tensions related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust within their writings and within their conversations. The results of my analysis describe the ways that children used the social justice principle to help them identify and negotiate social tensions in writing and in conversations while they worked independently at the writing table during Writing Workshop time.

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The data in this study are constructed to describe or represent a picture of everyday class life based upon students' reports and writing samples as well as my observations of life in my classroom. For purposes of clarifying this data analysis, I will reprint my research questions here, and then show the detailed questions I used for these analyses. The overarching question which this study addresses is:

How do students respond to and make use of social justice lessons in identifying and negotiating social tensions during Writing Workshop?

The following questions drove the collection and analysis of data to answer the over-arching question:

1. What were the central objectives of the social justice curriculum?

2. To what extent and in what ways did children use the social justice lessons to identify and negotiate social tensions in their writing and in responding to other's writing?

3. To what extent and in what ways did children use the social justice lessons to identify and negotiate social tensions in their talk at the writing table?

Since my chosen tensions, made most salient through the methodical analysis of my field notes, were gender, culture, friendship and trust, I have further delineated these issues into the following data analysis questions.

For gender:

A. How were issues of gender acknowledged in the children's writings or conversations?

B. How did the children handle issues of gender equity with respect to their fictional characters' development and presence in their writings, and in their conversations about their writings?

C. Was gender stereotyping present in their writings and conversations and was its presence questioned and changed by the children?

D. In order to positively alter the ways gender was presented or discussed, did the corrections come from the peer group, in a process I call peer correction (self and other)?

For culture:

A. How were issues of cultural difference acknowledged in the children's writings or conversations?

B. How did the children handle issues of cultural group equity with respect to their fictional characters' development and presence in their writings, and in their conversations about their writings?

C. In order to positively alter the ways cultural group members were presented or discussed, did the corrections come from the peer group, in a process I call peer correction (self and other)?

For friendship and trust, the issues are slightly different, so the questions are, also:

A. How was the issue of friendship and trust acknowledged in the children's writings or conversations?

B. How did the children handle issues of using one another's names in their writings, i.e., did they follow the class rules about this?

C. In order to positively alter the ways class members were presented or discussed, did the corrections come from the peer group, in a process I call peer correction (self and other)?

D. How was the principle of social justice present in these depictions of one another, and in their conversations with one another during Writing Workshop times?

This chapter is organized in three main sections. The first section provides an overview of classroom interactions during Writing Workshop, with details about the students, and describes the area of the room designated as the writing table, where the bulk of the data was collected. Within this section, I describe the social justice principle that I used to form the lessons taught throughout this school year. This first section serves as a backdrop for discussion about the conversations that took place during the Writing Workshop times, and also provides the data which specifically relates to research question # 1.

Section two focuses on the writings that were produced by the children. It includes Author's Circle talk, samples of students' writings and analysis of each piece as it related to the social justice practices described in section one.

Section three looks at the ways that children's conversations were constructed and influenced by gender, culture, and friendship and trust. Within this section, samples of the students' conversations, and analysis of each as it related to the social justice practices described in section one are discussed.

I end with a summary and discussion of key issues raised in the previous three sections. This summary also provides a bridge to the implications and conclusions discussed in Chapter Five.

Overview of Classroom Interactions During Writing Workshop

The first part of this section describes the time of day that children are at the writing

table, and gives a look at what takes place during this time. This description is based on review of the field notes and the transcripts of the times that I observed the writing table. I believe that this description was representative of the activities which occurred throughout the school year for the following reasons: 1) the patterns of interactions among classroom participants observed represented interactional patterns which occurred throughout the school year; 2) the events which occurred during this time were representative of the events which occurred during the school year; 3) the amount of time that children were at the writing table was representative of how the time was spent there on other school days that I did not record.

In the second part of this section, I provide the definition of the social justice principle used to direct the lessons that were infused within the curriculum. I also give specific examples of lessons that were taught by me and include a transcript and an analysis of a conversation regarding inclusion, one of the major premises of the definition.

The interactions described in this chapter are marked by particular patterns or ways of communicating, which demonstrated how these children understood not only their places within the classroom but also the ways in which their behaviors and those of others were co-constructed. In addition, I saw children use what they knew to negotiate their necessary interactions which occurred during the writing times. These children drew upon resources and strategies. They used strategies to maintain their status, while holding others in their own peer status assignments within this classroom. These different levels of status, with regard to gender, culture, friendship, and trust are discussed in depth within the following sections.

The Writing Table

Through a series of conversations in whole class meetings and in small groups during the first few weeks of school, the ways of participating at the writing table were set in motion. I emphasized positive ways to treat one another at the writing table so that everyone could be included. The children and I continued to co-construct roles for ourselves, which we used to participate in Writing Workshop times.

In this section I introduce the concept of the writing table. This information comes from the notes and pictures taken during this school year. The rules and concepts were derived from a review of field notes.

The writing table was placed next to the class meeting area. It consisted of six chairs around a rectangular wooden table. The table was placed near the door which connected the two second-grade classrooms used within this second grade. The table was in the room that was used for collaborative work, while the other room was used for more teacher-directed activities. I usually sat on the floor in the class meeting area, or at a table close to the meeting area, so that I was in full view of this writing table. An emphasis was placed on independence for workers at this table, even though I was in close proximity.

Figure 1, on page 72, provides an overall look of the classroom.

The video camera was placed at one end of the writing table. A wall was at the other end. Children sat on either side of the table. Three chairs were available on each side of the table. Although there were no visible barriers, this section of the classroom was quite separate from the other areas of learning.

I reminded the children about the experiences that they had had with Writing Workshop during their year in first grade. I used my writing and the writing of other students as models to show children how to get information from one another. I offered examples of the ways that they could get information from each other when I was not available to answer their questions, and I explained why this was part of their

responsibility to their classroom community. I also reminded them of the many conversations that we had had which related to the social justice principle.

I gave the children many examples of how stories could be generated. I told them what I expected of them when they were at the writing table, and discussed responsibilities

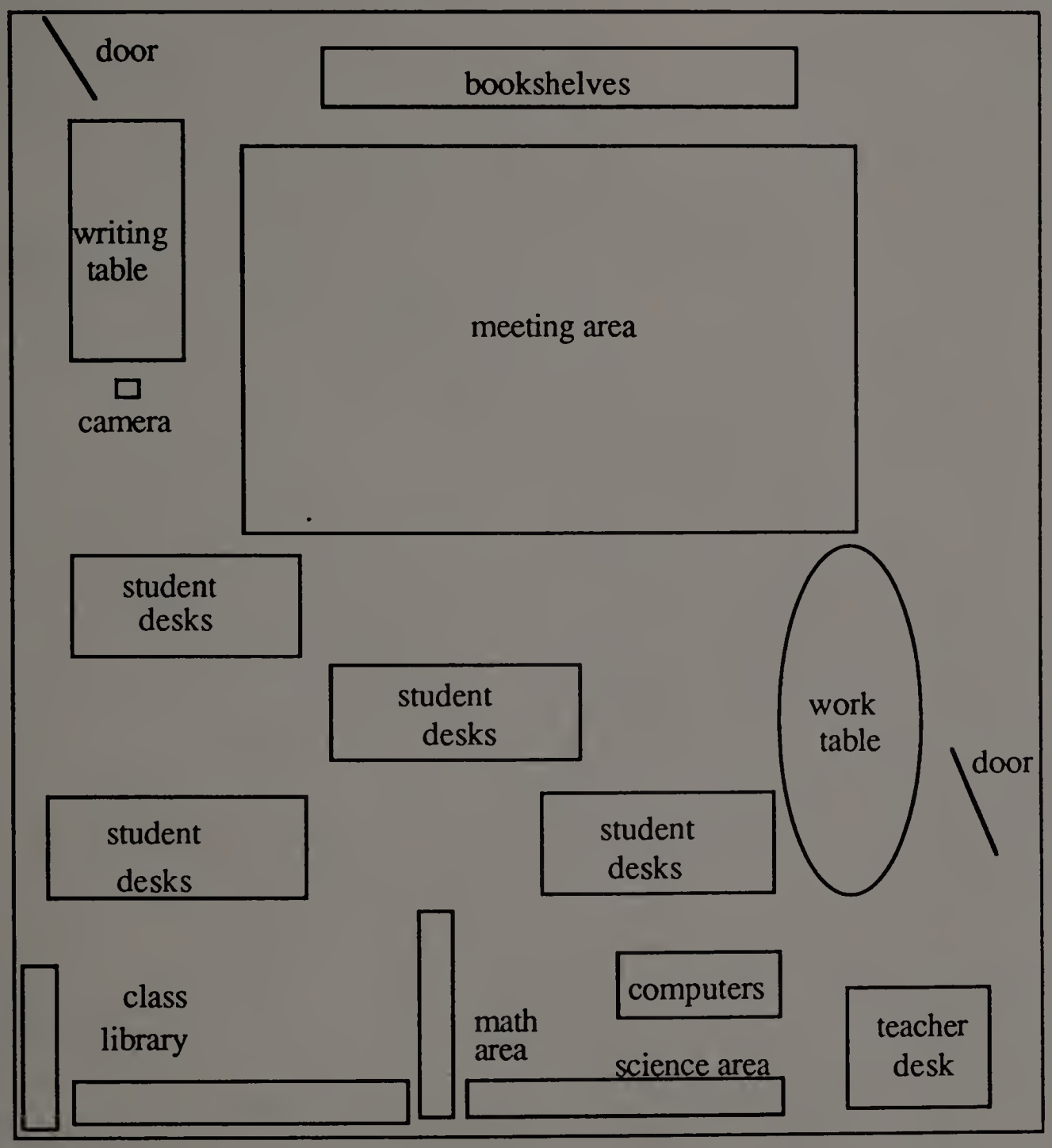

Figure 1. Map of the Classroom

they had to themselves and to each other which related to the principle of social justice. I reminded them of the following rules which I stated that I expected them to follow:

Use this time and this space to write stories

Write stories to be shared

Treat each other with respect

Take time to think

Ask questions of other writers before you ask the teacher

Critique your own work

Critique the writing of others with kind words

Do our own work without copying from someone else

If you can't spell a word, try it first before you ask for help

Ask yourself, "Do all the characters in my stories always look the same?"

Ask yourself, "Am I doing my best?"

For the first few weeks of school, each day, at the beginning of Writing Workshop, I asked children to volunteer to demonstrate to the class how they could write at the writing table. After their demonstrations and my comments about the wonderful examples that they had provided, I selected other children who I felt were ready to proceed independently of my direct interaction, and had these children also join the first group at the table. As the spaces at the writing table were taken, I had those children who could not find a seat at the table find another space within the classroom to write. Others who needed more individual guidance from me continued to receive instruction from me at another writing space within the classroom.

During the first few weeks of Writing Workshop time, there were several daily interruptions in the flow of writing. I stopped the class from working, and brought their attention to the children who were following my directions. I told them how

happy I felt about the way that the classroom was working, and gave the credit for this to those children who demonstrated understanding of the process. I asked children who were writing successfully to tell everyone what they had been doing, and how they had been using their writing time up to that point of the Writing Workshop. I gave exaggerated praise to the group of children who had demonstrated appropriate behavior. It appeared to me that there was a desire by all to become recognized members of this "special" group.

Once most of the children cooperated with this process, the writing table was made available to all the children. Although I believed that the children could all work at this writing table without my direct supervision, I usually had a small group of writers that worked with me daily during this time. These children usually sat at another table or on the floor away from the writing table.

I told the children that the writing table was the place that they could go each day during Writing Workshop if they wanted to talk about their writing, to get more ideas, or to see if the piece of writing that they were working on was making sense. It was also a place for them to write collaboratively with other writers. Most of the time, the children were allowed to choose where to write during Writing Workshop and the writing table was one of the places in the classroom that they could select.

Other places for writing included: student classroom desks and the classroom carpeted floor, or the school library, which was across the hall from this second-grade classroom. Children who chose the school library would be working on pieces of writing that needed the type of support that the library staff could offer.

My goal was to teach the children to make choices for places to work based upon the need of their writing. For some children, this instruction made sense, and they were able to make varied choices based upon what they hoped to accomplish during the writing time. For others, the choice was influenced by their friends' choices of spaces to work. And for some, where I was working became their space to work.

Although I tried to allow them many opportunities to make these choices, there were times when I directed certain children to the spaces that I felt were best for them.

During the Writing Workshop times, I expected the children to continue to write stories and follow the procedures that I had explained to them. They demonstrated their cooperation with this through daily examples of independent writing during this time of the day. I monitored their behaviors and productivity very closely during the beginning of the school year, but as some of the children became more reliably independent, my interactions with them during the Writing Workshop times dramatically decreased. I tried to give them as much freedom to participate independently in the Writing Workshop as I could: at this point of the school year, I would wait until the end of the Workshop to discuss any behavioral or learning issues that I had observed and which I felt caused a breakdown of the writing process.

I did not discuss some of the behaviors for two reasons. First, during this study, I was not only the classroom teacher, but also the researcher. I wanted to see how children handled themselves and how they used the strategies that I had taught them when emerging tensions forced them to make decisions. I did not always want to provide them with the "correct" response, or my interpretation of the "correct" response. The second reason that I did not always discuss inappropriate behaviors with the children was that many of the incidents that took place went unnoticed by me. It was not always my intent to allow certain conversations or behaviors to continue; however, as I reviewed the data, it became painfully clear to me that much of what had occurred within this classroom had been concurrently unknown to me. I made many erroneous assumptions that the children understood and would participate in the writing activity responsibly. Some of my findings were a real awakening to me. I discuss more about this in the Conclusions and Implications chapter of this dissertation.

Social Justice Pedagogy

This section defines the social justice principle used in this classroom and describes the way that I included the objectives from the social justice principle within my classroom. I include this information so that it is clear to the reader that the choices the children made about how the characters should be written into their stories were not without my influence. It was through the infusion of the social justice principle that I told them what I wanted them to demonstrate about their responsibility as writers. I expected them to write from their experiences. I also wanted them to understand that I hoped that they would develop a conscience within their writing. I wanted them to know that their writings had effects on the others within our classroom, and to know that they needed to consider these effects as they wrote (Lensmire, 1994).

The review of the field notes led to the following definition of the social justice principle. The children and I defined the principle of social justice by the characteristics of inclusion (children show the understanding of the importance of including diverse genders and cultures in their writing as well as challenging stereotypes); and respect (children continue to elevate the esteem of characters within their writing). This principle directed the social justice lessons that were being infused within the curriculum.

The principle of social justice that was used within this classroom did not come from a set of objectives prepackaged by any one publisher. It was presented as an integrated part of several lessons which made up the core curriculum within this second grade classroom. This core curriculum (without the social justice infused lessons) was one that was used within the school system, having been adopted and approved by the town's school board. The lessons that were presented were done in a way that stressed or exaggerated the objectives within the definition of the social justice principle.

Within this section, there are several main themes that relate to the social justice principle that I stressed during this school year. The themes which were most salient

within my field notes were gender, culture, friendship, and trust. I discuss each theme as it related to the major tenets of the social justice principle, respect and inclusion, and provide examples of the ways that I used the curricula and the daily experiences of the children to facilitate these conversations. Although in the classroom it was not uncommon to overlap these topics within conversations (as presented in the section on respect where the social justice lessons were more inclusive of all of the themes), for clarity, I separated them and discuss each individually in the section on inclusion.

Although the classroom teacher and the researcher were the same person for this study, the information reported here comes from the field notes and the review of the data and not my impressions.

Respect and Inclusion

I brought the topic of respect, which was included in the definition of the social justice principle, up for frequent discussions. These discussions usually followed an event that was witnessed by me in which the children did not seem to show respect. Although the children would frequently express that they felt that behaviors that did not show respect were unfair, unfair behaviors continued throughout the year. In one conversation (after I observed several students standing and watching while other students picked up the classroom before the class could leave for lunch, I noticed that the same children who had always done the waiting were once again waiting for the students who always did the picking up), I asked children why this "disrespectful behavior towards the students by other students" occurred so often. I told the children that it seemed to me that the same children always made spaces in the line when other children would not move, or the same children would take the class treat that was not the most desired when there was a choice being offered. Although I felt that all the children understood the reason for this question, and all could have answered, it was a child who would be most likely to demonstrate this behavior who offered an

explanation. The explanation offered was one I thought was an honest response. The child stated that she felt it was more important to move on than it was to wait.

As part of the social justice principle being infused into the curriculum, my answer to this response included examples from my own experiences. I told the children about the times when adults would let me move my car into the long line of traffic and not make me wait for all the traffic to clear, or about the person who made a space in the line at the bank so that I could pass. I used these examples as a way of showing children that adults showed respect for one another, too, and it was an admirable quality. I then asked the children if they thought it might be better if everyone did this once in a while, and not always to wait for the same children to come forward. The students all agreed, as I had expected. I found however, in reviewing my notes regarding this particular theme, that unless I set it up by saying that I wanted a different person to take this responsibility, or unless I selected the child who was going to complete the task being discussed or needing to be done to make an example of respect, the usual respondent was from the same group of children who always provided this help to the class. It was a rarity for someone new to step forward. I will talk more about this aspect of student behavior in the response to the social justice principle in the section of this chapter that reports on student status.

Although I recorded several incidents where I structured events and monitored the behaviors of the children relating to the principle that was presented, it was important for me to see how often the children could or would choose to show examples of behavior that demonstrated their understanding and their practicing of the social justice principle on their own when given the chance. I discussed this principle with them through the social justice curriculum used in my classroom, and told them that remembering inclusion and respect for each other would help them during that year in second grade.

Another example of the infusion of the social justice principle came through discussions which related to the home lives of the children and myself. Throughout the school year, I gave children examples of how their behaviors should mirror cooperative "family" interactions. I used the term "family," which I felt would be a familiar referent to help launch a continuous year-long discussion. I encouraged the children to describe interactions which had taken place within their families when students had been asked to work together with members of their families. The children and I talked about how difficult it sometimes was when they were asked to do things that were hard for them, or things that they did not want to do in their families. They talked about many different ways to solve the problems that occurred in situations. I made charts with their responses, along with mine, and I made references to these charts and these conversations throughout the school year.

One example of these conversations occurred when the children and I were talking about how to get along with friends of siblings who spent the night and were not being respectful to the children who were part of the same family. The children offered several different ways: leave them alone and play in a different part of the house, ask your parents to help, or tell your sister/brother's friend that their behavior was not following the rules of the home. Another topic discussed was about going to visit a friend and what to do when the food that was being served was not what was a usual meal. Again, the children suggested that the food could be left on the plate or that the person could taste it and then just say that they did not care for that type of food. It was agreed that these were ways that showed respect for the members of family and their friends. It was also discussed, at this time, that different cultures had different foods and that this too could be a time to show respect .

Throughout the school year I referred to their class as "a family," and provided opportunities for the children to discuss how their families handled issues which related to inclusion. I wanted children to understand how it felt to be included and excluded. I

asked children to talk about ways that they could make sure that they did not exclude children at school. I wanted these children to understand how important it was to invite each other into their hearts as well as into their work spaces. I did this through conversations with them about my experiences and theirs that related to being excluded, and by providing them opportunities to get together and learn more about each other. The "Friendship Teams" was one example of the ways that I provided opportunities for the children. My focus was always the same: to make a point that it was the relationships that exist within families that they were trying to understand and create in second grade. Although the reactions of the children were never clear and decisive, I wondered how well they understood the connection that I was trying to make between family relationships and the class as family.

After reviewing this data, I gave this choice of terms, "family," a great deal of thought. I discussed its appropriateness as a term for the classroom with other teachers and with other members of the school staff. Considering the varying definitions that exist for family structures, and the negative feelings that some children may associate with this term, this term might not have been the best choice to demonstrate inclusion and respect. Families come in many different configurations and carry many different meanings. Although it was not my intent to have children focus on negative aspects which might be associated with family life, it is quite possible that for many children, this concept was not a pleasant one. Upon further contemplation, I do not believe that this was the best term to use to convey the message of groups of people all working with and for each other. I do not think this term conveys the message emphasized in the social justice principle that was my goal.

Throughout the year I asked the children to notice and talk about the events which had occurred during the day that had been difficult for them regarding respect and inclusion. My field notes and video logs showed that these discussions usually focused on gender inequities or friendship problems, especially when raised by the

children. I had the children generate additions to existing charts of ideas or strategies that they used or could have used to solve these problems. The children and I would relate these classroom situations back to situations that they had experienced in their homes. Within my field notes, the topics of gender, culture, and friendship, and trust were discussed most. Although others were discussed, these issues seemed to be the most common themes that the children wanted to discuss with me.

As the year progressed, there were several conversations that the children initiated which focused on the need to include everyone. Inclusion was often discussed when a child felt that they or someone else was not being treated fairly; being included and being respected were also mentioned frequently. These were words that fit the definition of the social justice principle so I was not surprised to find them as a focal part of the discussions. Both I and the children used the definition to frame these discussions.

Culture

An example of ongoing lessons about gender equity occurred during discussions that I had with the children about women's roles in our society. These conversations began during a time when their school was focusing on the accomplishments of women. The class began to investigate the role of women, particularly African-American women and what these women had done to change our world. I selected African-American women because I felt that this was a way to include many women that these children had not been told about. It was also a way for me to show the African-American children in this class that the contributions of these African-American women were important, and that I, as a Caucasian male, understood and respected how these women had improved the world for everyone.

One way that I was able to focus the children's attention on issues related to respect and inclusion of cultures came through a discussion of the classroom books that

the children used daily. I wanted the children to understand that the choices that had been made by many of these women had come from their desires to ask questions when something did not seem fair. I also brought to their attention that there were books written that excluded or set up untrue expectations both with words and with pictures. I showed them how these books presented the characters in ways that were stereotypic and not true. This was another example of a topic which I used in several conversations with children throughout the year. I focused this particular conversation on culture, with respect to the principle of social justice. I stressed inclusion and respect as the definition of social justice.

This one conversation became a five-day study relating culture to books. I used a selection of books that contained both blatant and subtle discrimination. On the first day, I asked the children to tell what they noticed within the books that I had selected to share. A list of the books that were used for this lesson are listed in Appendix A.

On the second day, I asked the children to look through some of the books in their classroom collection. I selected the books for them to review. The children found that there were many books in the selection that showed that the authors did not think about how words and pictures could make a reader feel disrespected, unimportant or not liked. At this point I introduced the term "stereotypes." The children and I defined stereotype as an idea that was meant to include all people but in truth did not. It was an idea that many people accepted as being a fact. I also told the children that many stereotypes were meant to hurt the people that they described.

Judging from all of the conversation that ensued, I believe that the children understood this definition. This term and concept were not new for many of the students. They began to have small discussions among themselves about this term and offered examples. (The tape of this part of the activity was not clear enough for me to transcribe as all of the children's voices were heard at once.)

After the conversation about the definition of stereotypes, which aligned with the definition of inclusion and respect presented consistently to this class, I asked the children to bring in books that they had at home which they felt presented stereotypes. I also asked them to bring in books that they felt did not. Bringing in books from home was not something that I asked all the children to do, but rather offered as a choice. I knew that there were some children who had few or no books at home and if the books that they had were only poor choices, I did not want to make them feel as if I was using their few books as examples of books that were not good. I knew that there would be enough books brought in, and I thought that all the children who were a part of our discussion would learn from the information that was shared, regardless of whose books they were.

On the third day, when the books came in, I put them into sub-collections. I had the children work in small groups, each with a small collection of books. I asked each group to review all the books and talk about each one. I allowed them a full Writing Workshop time to do this activity.

The following day, I asked the children to go back to their book collections, and to select one book that did not stereotype and one that did. This activity also took a full Writing Workshop time to complete, as there were many conversations about the books selected.

The final day of this project was spent listening to the children who volunteered to share what their groups had discovered. I was interested in the criteria that they had used in their selections. Their criteria were the basis for the discussions that I had with the children. Why they chose a certain book and how they could be sure it showed respect or disrespect; how it excluded or included were the topics of questions I asked as they shared their findings with everyone.

The following transcript includes a portion of the conversation that I had with the children. In this section of the conversation, I asked the children to talk about what

they had seen in the books that made them decide to include these books as good reading choices. (Square brackets [ ] and comments in **bold** are my comments to help the reader understand non spoken events which occurred during these conversations, and were added from my field notes for this document.)

line 1 Teacher: What did you look at in the books that helped you decide if a
line 2 book was a good reading choice?
line 3 Child 1: The pictures.
line 4 Child 2: If they had lots of different people and stuff.
line 5 Teacher: What do you mean different people and stuff?
line 6 Child 1: When I look at the people I was looking for everyone.
line 7 Child 3: Like diversity. We looked for that.
line 8 Teacher: Did anyone find a book that made them think it showed respect
line 9 or inclusion when they read the words?
line 10 **[children nodded "yes"]**
line 11 Child 4: I think we should pick Ping as bad. I'll show you why it's
line 12 bad. The people are yellow. People from China have brown
line 13 skin. So what if they saw this book and ---- How would you
line 14 feel if you were Chinese and someone said it to you?
line 15 Child 5: We have brown skin and we are not from China.
line 16 Child 7: People in China are really brown like Ngawang (a child from
line 17 Tibet) and not yellow.
line 18 Child 4: I think it is bad because they are mean to the duck.
line 19 Child 6: It is a bad book because it doesn't have any Black or Brown
line 20 people. The Mrs. D (first grade teacher) read this read this to us
line 21 and she said it was a bad book. It has no diversity.
line 22 **[holding up a different book]**
line 23 Child 7: This is a bad book. There are 7 girls and 2 boys.

line 24 **[holding up a third book]**

line 25 Child 2: This is a good book because it has realistic pictures. They are

line 26 not all one color. It shows a lady. She's pregnant.

The conversation included several examples of books that the children decided were bad because the pictures were not inclusive or realistic. I asked the children if they had looked for words in the books that also showed that the author had been thinking about diversity. Although they all indicated that they had (they all nodded "yes"), no one offered an example. After my question in lines 8-9, the children went back to talking about the pictures.

When I had shared the books from my collection before I asked them to begin looking on their own, I discussed both words and pictures. The pictures in the stories made the most impression. The lack of real people and the colors of the characters' skin created the most discussion. I had used the word "diversity", and defined it as "variety and showing differences," to explain what I was looking for as I selected books that were good for everyone. Child 3 brought my word back to the conversation in line 7. It was referred to several times as the conversation continued.

The children and I referred to the conversations from this project throughout the school year when issues related to discrimination occurred. I continued to praise them for the issues that they raised and comments that they shared that related back to these original conversations.

Gender

In addition to culture, gender was another major focus of child-initiated discussions. Girls and boys complained to each other and to me that they were not feeling as if they were being respected or treated fairly by one another. The children and I made suggestions of what needed to be done when these problems surfaced. It

was interesting to me how often they talked among themselves first and then brought their suggestions to the class meetings. It was as if they had rehearsed the conversations amongst themselves and tried them out with each other, or with a small, trusted group of peers, before bringing them to the larger forum.

I had meetings with the children weekly to accommodate their need to share their feelings and their observations. My field notes showed that these meetings continued throughout the school year. They served as a way for the children and me to monitor what had been taking place at the writing table by looking at the themes that seemed to recur. For the purpose of this study, I report on those meetings that dealt with issues that became apparent during Writing Workshop only, especially those that focused on gender, culture, and friendship and trust. Although there were other issues discussed, such as misinterpretation or understanding of a particular rule, these were the most salient topics discussed.

Children noticed that there were certain problems that seemed to recur. They discussed these problems with their teacher and made a few new suggestions as to how they should be handled, or why old ways of handling them did not seem to work. It became apparent during these conversations that some children were finding more success with the new strategies than others. They talked about this, and I asked the children to consider reasons for this difficulty.

One example of this occurred in the conversations that I had with the children about where they chose to sit. They talked about why they chose to sit at certain places, and about the times when they wanted to sit in another seat, but the other children at the table would not allow them to do that. They said that sometimes children did not say anything, but that some had ways of making others feel uncomfortable for making the choices that he was asking them to make. I believe that what they were trying to describe to me was their understanding of the ways that status and privilege operated within their second grade classroom.

I explained to the children my reasons for wanting them to think about where they sat by describing to them how it looked to me when children of one type of group (gender, culture, friendship network) were all sitting at the same place and did not make room for a child from another group. I wanted the children to understand that this was not just my idea but that others would also have similar interpretations if asked. I invited guest speakers, such as adults from our school and children from outside this classroom, to describe what they saw and what they were led to think when these separations occurred. These visitors told the children that it looked as if the gender separation was purposeful, and based upon a dislike of members of the other gender. The school principal used culture as an example, and explained that it sent a similar statement if all the Black children sat together, and all the White children sat at a different table.

These remarks became the basis for many discussions throughout this school year. These second-grade children stated that this negative message of exclusion was not their intention, nor was it the message that they wanted others to interpret. They continued throughout the year to share examples from within and outside of school where single type groups occurred and interpretations could be made that would or would not be true; without asking the people involved, they could not know.

Once they stated that they understood inclusion as a goal, I gave the children many chances to practice and demonstrate this understanding to me. Several times throughout the school year, I asked them to find places to sit at the tables within the classroom that would show what they understood from this discussion. I would remind them of these discussions, and then I would have them tell me what I "should see" when I looked at the new seats that they had selected.

The children and I also discussed what would happen if someone were to be disappointed by not having their choice of where to sit. It was decided that if that happened, the child or the children who were upset would be given their first choice the

next time that the class selected new seats. This happened several times during the school year, and usually to the same children. It meant that these children got first choice every other time they selected new seats, but their choosing first influenced the membership at their table, perpetuating exclusion anyway, and not solving the problem. The discussion of this concern continued throughout the school year. I believe that the children were again trying to show examples of status and privilege in their classroom, and the concomitant problems.

Another example of a conversation where they were asked to deal with the issue of gender came when the children in second grade were told by the cafeteria supervisors that they were going to be given assigned places to sit within the cafeteria. They were no longer going to be allowed to sit wherever they wanted to sit. The supervisors believed that having all or mostly all-boy or all-girl tables was adding to the disruption in the cafeteria during lunch time. Although there were no single gendered seating arrangements, small clusters of same gendered groups did occur. I asked the children if they could demonstrate their understanding of our classroom conversations about seat selection practices in the cafeteria as well as they were able to do in the second-grade classroom. I wanted to make this another opportunity for them to be able to prove to me and to themselves that they were capable of making better decisions. I asked the cafeteria supervisors if they would allow the children an opportunity to make this choice. Although they were skeptical, they did go along with this request. The result of this experience was not as perfect as I had hoped. Throughout the school year, these choices never worked as well when the children were asked to complete them outside of their second-grade classroom. Eventually, the supervisors had to assign seats to all.

I discussed this situation with the children, but the conversation was difficult. Some of the evidence that they offered was from statements made by the adult personnel who were making choices for them, and I found it difficult to have honest

conversations with them and still support the decisions that these adults were making, because our philosophies clashed. I avoided most of these conversations. I evaluated the children's choices, and offered praise to them for doing what I had asked them to do whenever I could. It was my intention that this learning would be transferred to the writing table as well as to other times in the day when they were asked to make independent choices; however, I had to be realistic and not place the children in situations in which they would not really be allowed to make those choices. I settled for focusing my expectations on the second-grade classroom for that year.

Friendship and Trust

Along with culture and gender as themes that were discussed throughout the school year, friendship and trust was the third major focus of this group of children. Issues relating to friendship permeated most of the daily interaction within primary classrooms (Lensmire; 1994). Tension, which is inherent to friendship, was often a topic which influenced the behavior of this group of children. It was not difficult for me to draw upon the many daily examples for conversations on this topic. Children also brought examples to these discussions. I let their examples launch many of these conversations.

The children and I talked throughout the year about choosing partners for academic work as well as for play activities, and how it was the responsibility of everyone to insure that everyone was included. I taught them the "You can't say that you can't play" rule (Paley, 1992), which the children drew upon to end many squabbles with other second-grade children over who was included in activities. Throughout the year, I asked children to select partners that they had never previously worked with during cooperative learning activities. I told them that I wanted them to have many opportunities to work with as many different children as possible during this school year.

As the year continued, there were times when children reported that they had worked with everyone, and now wished to work with someone that they had already worked with before. These repeated partners were usually very good friends. It did not take long for some of the children to notice that this pattern was happening often, but only for some of the children. This became another example of how friendship privilege and issues of trust were operating within this classroom.

Another example of friendship and trust issues came from the way that I structured their social studies writing group work, which often occurred during Writing Workshop times. I focused the social studies grouping around "Friendship Teams." "Friendship Teams" were groups of children that worked together to create a project, or to solve a problem that related to a topic being covered in our social studies unit. I pre-selected the children who were going to be in these groups. These groups maintained their membership throughout the school year. I tried to put together groups of children that I did not think would naturally choose to work together. I tried to be sensitive to culture, gender and friendship when placing members into groups as these were the issues most discussed by this group of children and ones that I, too, felt were important.

This initial grouping took place early in the year, in October. I took enough time to get to know the children, but wanted to form groups early in the year so that they would have as much time as possible to work together and form relationships. As the year progressed, I noticed that the children referred to themselves as "Friendship Teams," and used this term to describe the ways in which they organized other activities. For example, when I told them that we were going to get into a grouping to complete some task or to visit some other place, they often asked if they could work or go in their "Friendship Teams."

During one of these lessons, I asked each team to select names, goals, and rules for their team. I have included a transcript of one team's conversation as they created

their rules. This transcript is in the third section of this chapter, in which I discuss the conversations that children had at the writing table. The example shows how the idea of friendship influenced this group's ability to resolve a conflict while completing a writing activity. I selected this transcript because it was typical of conversation that occurred during this time.

When I asked children what they needed to feel included, as members of this class, I was surprised to discover how many children were not able to connect with each other outside of school, and how important that connection was to them to help them feel connected within the classroom. They told me that they needed a way to connect with friends outside of school. Their families told me that they too needed ways to help their children connect outside of school. So, after gaining permission, I provided families with addresses, phone numbers and email addresses. I asked families at the Spring parent/teacher conferences if this information had helped them to make these connections, and was pleased to find out that many of the families had used this information to provide an opportunity for their child to meet with another child from the class. I do not have clear data that would support that this additional tactic added to the development of a family relationship or built new or extended friendships within their classroom. I did feel that it brought together some children who would not have had opportunities to be together if I had not offered this networking. However, those children who did not have phones or who did not have access to email communication were not able to utilize or benefit from this extra information. They were not the children who reported having these extra opportunities and neither did their families. It might have been this group of children that I most wanted to reach that was not able to benefit from this intervention.

Summary

These examples of the social justice curricular infusion are important to remember as I continue to discuss how children used all that they were being told to help them to co-construct the relationships with one another daily during Writing Workshop. It was through these conversations that I had hoped the children would understand why the principle of social justice (relating to gender, culture, and friendship and trust), were an important part of what I was asking them to do during Writing Workshop. It was my goal that the understandings that they had created through their conversations would help them to better negotiate tensions endemic to the building of relationships which were such an important part of the Writing Workshop model.

In analyzing the effectiveness of the social justice curricular infusion to the Writing Workshop times, I looked for evidence first of any acknowledgment that these issues (of gender, culture, and friendship and trust) even existed. I next looked for evidence of peer or self-correction to foster equity and/or reduce/eliminate stereotypes. In addition, I looked for inclusion and respect in friendship and trust issues. In the next section, I discuss how children used the themes of our discussions to improve their writing and that of their classmates.

Summary

The writing table was a space within this classroom where all children were given time to work with peers as they created and edited their stories. Their writing and conversations were recorded daily and became the source of data for this research study. This space was within the classroom but was quite separate from other learning areas. The children were asked to work independently at this writing space but were given specific rules to follow. They were given many "guided" examples of what their behavior should be and how they were to use this space and this time for writing.

Specific lessons focused on respect and inclusion, the tenets of the definition of social justice. They were infused within the classroom core curriculum. The lessons provided experiences for the children and fostered discussions. These lessons targeted culture, gender, and friendship and trust. I gave the children examples of ways to show respect and ways to include these aspects within their daily classroom writing and conversations. I provided specific rules that they were to follow and allowed them the time and the space to practice what I had instructed them to do. Once the children demonstrated that they understood the principle of social justice that I expected them to follow, I allowed them more independence at the writing table.

Children's Writing Samples

In this section, I discuss examples of children's writing. I use these examples to document the ways that these children used the social justice principle with respect to issues of gender, culture, and friendship and trust when they co-constructed their stories. I discuss how stories were/were not changed and, show how whatever changes were made had direct links to conversations they had in the classroom. I include specific interviews I had with children in which they told me why they decided to make the changes to their work, or why they chose to construct the characters in a particular way. I also include a description of how the children shared their stories with their peers, to help the reader understand how these ideas became public within this classroom.

Throughout the year, the children were asked to share their stories with small groups of peers who then offered critiques of the story after hearing it read aloud by the author. This was called "Author's Circle." This daily occurrence was one of the procedures described in the section which outlined the principles of Writing Workshop, and was not unique to this second-grade classroom. I told the children that I expected all of them to go through this review process, knowing that they would have to open

themselves up to constructive criticism by others within this classroom community. I was interested in the ways that children thought about and decided to incorporate the social justice issues that we discussed into their questions during this Author's Circle portion of the Writing Workshop. I was also interested in the ways that these ideas influenced their stories or the revisions.

The result of a very thorough analysis of the children's writing surprised me. The analysis, completed several times with all the children's published texts using the analytical questions, indicated that there were very few stories written by children that did not follow the social justice principle related to inclusive gender representation and respectful friendship negotiation. It was also surprising that none of the texts that I reviewed related to the issue of culture. I will discuss this issue further in this chapter.

I felt confident that I knew all of the texts that the children had published that year. As the self-appointed editor, responsible for the final approval of all student texts before they were published, the examples that I have written about were selected by me from the many that were published. Other texts that were written but not selected for analysis did not show as clear an example of what I wanted for this study. They were texts that primarily contained labeled pictures and very little story line, or did not include references to gender, culture, friendship and trust. If they did, they were very similar to the examples that I shared. The stories that were mostly labeled pictures were written and published at the beginning of the school year, and except for a very small group of students, this style of writing disappeared early in the data collection period. All texts that were published that year followed the social justice principle that had been part of many lessons that year except for those presented within this analysis. There were no others published that year.

Once the children's conversations began to include the ideas of the social justice principle that I and the children continued to construct, their published writing appeared to follow. I began to have these conversations about social justice during the first few

days of the school year and of the data collection period, so all published texts were able to be influenced by these lessons, and they were.

This chapter is divided into four sections: Gender Issues, Friendship and Trust, Culture, and the Summary. As stated above, there were no texts that were published this school year that revealed issues related to culture. Therefore, there was no data available to analyze that related to culture.

In the first section I review the questions for gender issues that were used to analyze these texts and provide a description of the results of the analysis. This is followed by four children's stories which were used for this analysis. These stories were selected because they show how issues of gender were negotiated following the principle of social justice presented to the children.

In the second section, Friendship and Trust, I review the questions for friendship and trust issues that were used to analyze these texts and provide a description of the results of the analysis. This is followed by three children's stories which were used for this analysis. These stories were selected because they show how issues of friendship were negotiated following the principle of social justice presented to the children. They were typical of the stories written during this school year in which authors dealt with the issue of friendship and trust.

The third section of this chapter is the report about culture. I reprint the questions that I had intended to use and discuss the lack of available data to analyze.

The final section of this chapter is the summary. I begin with a rationale of why I felt confident about the claims that I make about the children's writing. I also discuss the major findings related to children's writing and the ways that the social justice principle was used by them to help negotiate tensions related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust.

Gender Issues

The specific research questions addressed in this section are:

A. How were issues of gender acknowledged in the children's writings or conversations?

B. How did the children handle issues of gender equity with respect to their fictional characters' development and presence in their writings, and in their conversations about their writings?

C. Was gender stereotyping present less in their writings and conversations, and was its presence questioned and changed by the children?

D. In order to positively alter the ways gender was presented or discussed, did the corrections come from the peer group, in a process I call peer correction (self and other)?

Analysis of the children's writing and conversations during Author's Circles showed that issues of gender were acknowledged through the children's writings and subsequent conversations with peers about their writing. Authors were told by the children listening to the stories that they were to remember the lessons that were taught by me and incorporate the objectives from the lessons into their writings. They were very specific about where and when these changes should take place with the stories. They usually would not allow the author's explanations to replace their suggestions for change. The authors wrote stories which gave examples within their plots and character constructions that challenged gender stereotyping and presented characters in ways that demonstrated their efforts to show respect and inclusion. Both of these objectives were presented as the definition of the principle of social justice. When it occurred, the presence of gender stereotyping was questioned by the children and specific suggestions were made for the student's text. These suggestions and subsequent corrections of children's writings always came from the author's peer

group. I never made direct suggestions to the authors about changes that should be made to their individual writings. The only suggestions that I made were those that followed lessons representing the social justice principle. At these times I did insist that they adhere to this principle.

The following stories are examples of how issues of gender were negotiated within the children's writings. Each story is followed by a transcript of the children's conversations and an analysis of that conversation or by a discussion of the conversation which followed the sharing of the writing with peers when transcripts were not available for analysis. Once again, these are examples that showed the exceptions. Most stories written and all that were published that year did not show any presence of gender stereotyping or gender exclusion.

There are five stories included within this section that deal with issues related to gender. The first story provides an example of the exclusion of female characters. The conversation which followed the sharing of this story comes next. An analysis of this conversation which shows how the peer group questioned the gender choices made in this story completes this first example.

The second example is a story written by one of the students who wrote the first. It is an example of how he used the children's corrections to create a story that followed the social justice principle discussed. This is followed by a brief report of the conversation which took place after he shared his story with his peers. There were no strong statements or comments made by children in response to this text for me to discuss. It appeared to me that the children accepted this second story because it followed the social justice principle presented and followed the expected writing pattern being presented to them.

The third and fourth stories show how gender was included in pictures only but not in the text throughout this story, and how gender was presented in a non-stereotypic way. Each story is followed by a discussion with the children. The third

story also contains an analysis of the conversation with the children. In this analysis I discuss how the story met the criteria expected by the peer group regarding gender inclusion and respect and offer a suggestion that student status might have also been involved in this event. The fourth story does not include any discussion by the authors' peers. The authors of that story did not read their story to the others. It is the author's story that presents their attempt to include a story that offset the absence of female heroines in classroom literature.

The final example is a story that was written using children's names from the classroom and the inclusion of both genders to counter the issues of girls writing stories with all girl characters and boys writing from a similar gendered perspective. There is a brief discussion of the conversation that I had with the author where she discusses her feelings toward this inequitable gendered practice.

The War of the Worlds

The first example, The War of the Worlds, written by two male students, was an adventure story which made reference to only male characters, except one. There was a lady in the story who slipped on a banana and floated away.

The children who wrote this story took turns reading pages of the text to the group, seated in a circle. They used the illustrations and their voices to highlight the parts of the story that they expected would get the most reaction from the audience.

During the "Author's Circle," as this story was being shared, students asked about this lack of female representation. I asked the children in the audience to wait until the authors were finished reading before they began to question them. I was surprised at how quickly they noticed and reacted to the exclusion of female characters. This is the story as it was written and shared during "Author's Circle":

War of the Worlds

Once upon a time there were four aliens named Avbmba, Caleya, Ackwa and Casoyck. They were on their planet called Haloom listening to their walkmans that they stole from some astronauts. Ackwa said, "I'm bored, let's go explore in our handy dandy space ship."

"No, how about our other ship," said Avbmba.

"Ok," said Ackwa.

So they got on the space ship. Everybody sang: "Old McDonald Had a Farm," so they didn't get bored. Finally, they saw a planet, it was blue and Caleya thought he saw an animal so they named it Blue Zoo. It was really Earth. They landed in the middle of the ocean.

"I think that blue stuff is called ocwa," said Casoyck.

"Hey, that sounds like my name," said Ackwa.

There was a ship that had the Beatles playing on it, nearby. Avbma jumped on board, grabbed an electric guitar and started playing it. He didn't like it, so he smashed it on his head. He fainted. He had a dream about pink bunny rabbits pouring orange juice. But really Ackwa was pouring orange juice on his head to wake him up. He got it from the bar on the ship. Avmba said, "Knock it off."

"Hey that rhymes with pock," said Ackwa. "Isn't that what a chicken says?"

While all the people were dancing, Caleya stole a banana from the bar, squirted it out and threw it at a lady. She slipped and fell off the boat into a life boat. The rope broke and she floated away.

"Yippee skippie," said Caleya, and he started throwing banana peels at everybody, and he ate the rest. They drove the boat to land. It was somebody's birthday, so there were balloons. Ackwa filled them up with left over orange juice and threw them at everybody at the party. That's what started the war.

When Caleya saw the general of the army, he said," Is that the army," pointing at his arm. He swung the general of the army up in the air by his arm, he fell into a volcano, and it erupted. Caleya said," Oops,".and walked away.

Next came the air force. The aliens threw the left over orange juice balloons at the windshields of the jets. Some jets fell into the volcano and some flew around the world out of control, until they ran out of gas. The navy was terrified to find out that the aliens beat the air force. So, they got their biggest warship. But, the aliens were prepared. They got on their ship which was the ship that the Beatles were playing on and drove into the middle of the ocean where they met the navy. They had seven million bananas and ten banana peelers. They threw all the banana peels at the navy ship. It tripped over and all the men fell off.

Casoyck was saying, " We are the champions! We are the champions! No time for losers 'cause we are the champions!" over and over again.

"Let's get back to our planet," said Ackwa.

"All we need is a flying saucer," said Caleya. So, they looked everywhere for a flying saucer. Finally, Abvmba said, "I see one."

"NO! That's the plate kind of saucer," said Caleya. Then they found a real flying saucer and flew away towards their planet but instead they landed on Mars. They met four aliens that were sixteen just like them. They flew back to Haloom and played with their friends.

The End

P.S. They lived happily ever after.

While this story was being read, the children laughed at all the parts that the authors had intended to be funny, such as "Yippe skippie" and "that rhymes with pock." As they read this story to the group, they stressed and changed their voices when it was appropriate to get a laugh or reaction from the audience. It was as if they had rehearsed this sharing before coming to the Author's Circle, and knew how to read it to the audience in a way which would get the reaction that they had been looking for. I believe that they were a little surprised at the direction that the ensuing conversation took.

After the story was read, there was a discussion about the story. The following is a portion of that discussion. There were six children in this Author's Circle; however, only four spoke. The speakers were the authors and four children.

line 1	Boy 1:	I liked the funny parts of the story. I also like the way that
line 2		you wrote.
line 3	Author 1:	Thank you.
line 4	Girl 2:	I liked it. Were the aliens boys or girls or both?
line 5	Author 1:	They were boys.
line 6	Girl 2:	Why aren't there girls in the story?
line 7	Author 6:	There was a lady, she got sent away
line 8		**[author reads the part with the woman and**
line 9		**the banana again]**.
line 10	Boy 1:	I think you should make the aliens girls and boys.
line 11	Author 1:	But in most stories, heroes are boys.
line 12	Boy 1:	Not always. Girl heroes are called heroines, right Mr.
line 13		Preston?
line 14	Teacher:	**[I nodded but did not comment]**.
line 15	Girl 2:	I think there should be girls in the story too. They could
line 16		do saving stuff, just like the "What Do These Women
line 17		Have To Do With You?"
line 18		**[reference made to the class board with posters**
line 19		**of Black heroines]**.
line 20	Boy 1:	I agree. It would make it a more believing [*sic*] story.
line 21	Author 2:	Well, maybe. I don't know. Next time I will see if it
line 22		can fit that way into a story. I'm not sure.

At this point other children talked about liking the pictures and the funny parts again, and then the discussion ended. The children left the area and returned to their writing.

I thought it was interesting to note that both girls and boys in this audience had the same concern about gender. The authors' response, that it had to be that way because "heroes are boys," did not satisfy this group. It was that comment that brought the response from Boy 1 on line 12, a male student, that there are girl heroes who are called heroines, and also the reference made to the African-American women, lines 15-17, that the class had been discussing every Wednesday. (In these conversations, I always stressed the heroism of these women.)

During this Author's Circle, the comments on lines 15-17 were suggestions made to the authors to help them introduce heroines into this text. The authors did not make any attempts at that point to change this text, but it appeared to me that they were thinking about this conversation as shown by the comments on lines 21-22 of this transcript. As these questions were asked, the authors continued to look at each other before one of them would respond. They appeared a little uncomfortable with this conversation, but they continued to listen and accept the criticism. As I reviewed my notes of this Author's Circle I noticed that there was never a full commitment by either author to revise this text.

The authors did not acknowledge that gender inequity was an issue in this writing and discussion. Some members of the audience did. The issue arose because girls were inequitably depicted in this story, and it was somewhat stereotypical in its depiction of the one female character, as noted by the audience. When the peers attempted to correct these problems, the authors resisted. I chose not to interfere at this point, because I wanted to see if the group pressure could work. I also saw possible future change promised (see lines 21-22) and took that as positive enough for that session (which occurred in the fall).

The Wizard of Mythalia

Another text was written by one of the authors of War of the Worlds after several more classroom discussions about the African-American women. In The Wizard of Mythalia, a woman was included as a major character. Her role was written to be very important in this story. The author was quite pleased to have an opportunity to share it in Author's Circle, after it was published and illustrated. He asked me several times if the text had been returned from the publisher (a group of parents who typed the children's stories at home and returned a batch of books to me). After his story had been returned, the author asked almost daily if he could have an opportunity to share his story. It was as if he wanted a chance to restore his reputation with this class. He also asked if the same children could come to this Author's Circle who had attended his last reading. Unfortunately, this could not be accommodated. There were a couple of children absent on the day that he was scheduled to share.

He went ahead with the reading, too anxious to postpone for another day. As he read, he continued to look at me and then to look at the audience. It was as if he was checking the reactions to this new and improved adventure story. It was my feeling that most of the audience members were not as attentive as he might have thought, and were not listening for the new character style that he was including. Even though he asked them to listen and notice who the characters were, I did not feel that the children in this audience grouping had the sophistication to understand what he was asking them to do as he read his story. Because he did not ask in a very specific way, I felt that they were just listening to the story as they always did before, and knew that they would be expected to offer some comment when he was finished reading. That was exactly what they did.

His story is written here as it was published, and as it was shared in Author's Circle. Again, the author used illustrations and his voice to emphasize certain parts of the text. These were the parts where there was the most action, and not the parts where

the female character was mentioned, as I might have suspected given that he had expressed a desire to have this aspect of the story notice by the audience.

The Wizard of Mythalia

Once upon a time, there was a little boy named Albert who loved to play football. One day he was playing it when he got stung by five bees when he broke their hive. He was mad. He started to walk home when Super Saber himself came up and by accident knocked Albert on the head. That made Albert so mad, that he decided to get back at the world.

.When he grew up he became an evil wizard with black magic, and he went away from New Jersey (which was where he lived) and went on a boat to Mythalia, a fairy land where all myths came from. When he got there, he started working for a witch named Zilalda the Bad. He was her best apprentice!

So one day she let him go on a mission with her. They went on a flying carpet and flew to King Zomber's castle to capture him. Zilalda put a spell on the guards and they ran it. It was very dark in the castle. The wizard lit a match. They walked into the throne room and made themselves invisible. They kidnapped the king and ran out of the castle onto their flying carpet.

They flew to the top of the highest mountain in Mythlia, where they dug a cage and put the king in. Then they put the bars on. "That's a good day's work!" said the wizard. And they flew back to their hideout inside a big cliff. The entrance was a fake tree.

·That night, the witch died and the wizard became the boss. He battled the kings people. He was losing so he got into a time machine and went back to the time of the dinosaurs. Then he made changes and went back to a time when he was little. He shrunk back to his size and forgot that he became a wizard. And this time he did not get stung by five bees, and he grew up to a scientist.

The End

The woman in this text had most of the power and was able to control the situation. When I asked how he had selected the characters for his story, the author said that this idea came from the discussion of his last book. "There were many good ideas that I could use," he said. There were a few questions asked about the pictures and about the place where the story took place, but no questions from children that referenced his use of a woman as a protagonist. I wondered if the audience had grown to expect this within texts, so it did not seem remarkable to them and there was no need for them to comment. The author did nothing to direct the conversation in this way, even though this had been his request at the beginning of the reading. He responded to the few remarks which were compliments and moved to another place in the circle so that another child could share her story. The whole event seemed anticlimactic to me, but the author and the children seemed fine with it. I let the next author share and did not belabor the first author's original request to move the discussion toward the recognition of gender inclusion.

In this event, the author acknowledged his attempts to rectify previous gender inequity through character development and choice of a heroine for his protagonist. The audience, however, did not comment, and I chose not to either when he saw the tenor of the conversation was not on that topic. However, it is worth noting that the author credited his new choices to having decided to incorporate the suggestions of the audience from the previous Author's Circle. I consider this a very positive example of the social justice curriculum infusion in the writing, even though it was not addressed in the conversation that ensued.

Until Summer

Another characteristic that was discovered and discussed at an Author's Circle was the way that some of the girls' writings did not always include male characters. This topic was generated during a general discussion about characters in stories, but it

was not really looked at in-depth by any children in a formal way with me until the sharing of the following story. I am not aware of conversations that the children might have had amongst themselves about this idea.

The example of a story written by a female author that showed this pattern was called Until Summer. In this story, the author used illustrations to support the story, but did not include male characters in any important parts. They were just there in the pictures and only mentioned in the lists of names. When the author brought this book to Author's Circle to share it, I was hoping for a discussion that would be similar to the one we had had earlier in the week that followed the reading of War of the Worlds. Even when I prodded the children with specific references to gender, I was unable to generate enough concern to begin a discussion. I felt as if the children had used what they had learned about inclusion of female characters as heroines, but then had not felt it necessary to include male characters, too, as a way to balance the use of story characters.

The following is the story, Until Summer. It is written here just as it was written and read to the children by the author.

Until Summer

Once there were lots of children. One child was going to have a birthday party. She invited Laurel, Elizabeth, Hannah, Danny, Laura, Megan, Rosalie, Derek and Rose.

When everybody got to the party place, Danny and Rose could not talk. Megan said to Rosalie, "We need to figure out what's wrong."

Rosalie said, "All I noticed is they stopped talking when they touched some red powder."

Karen was standing near by so she said," Don't touch any red then." But just then Karen stepped on some blue powder and could not talk any more.

Megan said, "My little sister stepped in dust this morning but she can still talk."

Rosalie said, "I just thought of something-we're all the older siblings in the family."

Megan said, "I think you're right."

So Megan and Rosalie ran and ran to tell the others but Rosalie stepped in some powder. Quickly and carefully Megan told Rosalie, "When you need to talk, write a note." Then Megan told the others, "Don't touch any powder and told the kids who could not talk, "Write notes when you need to talk."

Soon everybody figured out the squirrels did it and all the older siblings would not be able to talk until summer.

The End

In this story, the boys were shown in small roles and they disappeared in the writing, but their pictures continue throughout the text. They did not have very important roles in this story. As shown in the discussion of this story, this point was mentioned, but it did not seem to have the same effect on the children in the audience as the lack of girls in the boys' stories had had. There were boys and girls in the audience, in a similar proportion as there had been during the other reading; however, it appeared to me to that this issue did not generate any concern. The transcript that follows reports the conversation that took place after the story was shared.

line 1	Girl 1:	I like the story.
line 2	Author:	Thank you.
line 3	Girl 2:	I like it too because you have good endings.
line 4	Girl 3:	And good pictures.
line 5	Author:	Thank you.
line 6	Teacher:	Did you think that the boys and the girls had equally

line 7		important parts in this story?
line 8	Author:	There are pictures of boys and girls on every page.
line 9	Boy 1:	And their names are in the story.
line 10	Boy 2:	Yeah, but boys don't do anything after page... can I see
line 11		the book?
line 12		**[the author lets this child see the book]**
line 13		... page 2.
line 14	Author:	That's because Danny was one of the first children to
line 15		touch the powder.
line 16	Boy 1:	What happened to Derek?
line 17	Girl 2:	He is still in all of the pictures.
line 18	Boy 1:	Ok.

The discussion ended here. The author returned to the circle and another child asked to share her writing.

I thought it was interesting that both girls and boys mentioned the issue of gender as shown in lines 9 and in lines 10-13, but all the children seemed to be satisfied with the author's response in line 8, that there were boys in her story. In this way gender equity in the development of the character was addressed. The fact that they were mentioned seemed to arrest further discussion. This might be explained as an acceptance of the author's response, and that they were satisfied with her answer, or their acceptance of her response might have been influenced by the status that this author held within the class. The author was one of the most prolific writers and was the child who had the most stories published in second grade. The number of books was noticed and talked about by many of the children as they went to the shelf and selected books to read. Remarks made by the children about her being the expert writer were not uncommon. This child was also one of the most experienced readers and

math students in the second grade that year. This, too, added to her status. Suggesting that her responses to the questions was what satisfied the students' concerns is not an accurate explanation or not a complete answer. In this instance, perhaps her status granted her a position that allowed her comments to be rarely questioned by anyone in second grade.

I was not convinced that this question of gender would have been asked after she read her book to the children if I had not raised it himself. I did not think that the other children would have challenged her. I was a little surprised that other children took it up. The first response in the author's defense, line 9, came from a boy, but he later questioned her (line 16). It was the second boy who continued to search in the direction that I had suggested, on lines 10-13, and possibly encouraged Boy 1 to continue his line of questioning.

In these conversations, stereotyping was not mentioned, nor was it actually occurring in that story. The peer questioning did not lead to correcting, but perhaps none was needed. I see this entire conversation as positive evidence of social justice infusion, because, with a small intervention on my part, a lot was discussed.

Many Kittens

In another example of children's dealing with gender in their writing, two female authors chose to write a story which they reported as having had a surprising ending. Their story was about children who had many kittens and were not able to care for them. The characters in the story were given help taking care of the kittens. What was interesting to me was the way that gender could be viewed as stereotypical in this story.

The following story is written here the way that these authors wrote it. They did not choose to share this story in Author's Circle. Sharing was not required.

Many Kittens

Once there were two boys and their names were Keenan and Markhew. They had $5,635.000 [sic] kittens. They could not keep track of them. One day, one died, and they another one died, and then another one died because they had ponds, but no kitten food. They had mushrooms, but they got sick of mushrooms and pond water. The kittens were black and brown and white. They were very pretty, and sad, and happy-sometimes. They liked the two boys.

They had two friends and their names were Sarah and Rebecca. They played together a lot. The two girls liked the kittens so much that they got some from the two boys. The girls got 100 kittens and they took good care of the kittens. The kittens loved the girls. The kittens never died. They kept track of them. They fed them. They gave them water. They loved them all.

Once they had a mouse, it escaped. They had a parrot and it died. Their mom thought the kittens would die. Their mom was super surprised!

The boys tried to give away the rest of the kittens so they would only have 10. They thanked the girls. The kittens grew up.

The End

In Many Kittens, the authors started their story with boys as the main characters who lost everything and made a mess. The story ended with girls saving the day. The boys in the story were very thankful for the girls' help. This story could be looked at from different perspectives. From one perspective, the girls were seen as the ones who saved the day and it was the boys who were thankful for being rescued. From another point of view, it could be argued that this follows feminine discourse, where the woman is required to pick up the pieces and take care of the situation.

This perspective was unclear to me so I questioned the authors directly. It was the former and not the latter reasoning that the authors explained to me when I

questioned them about their thinking behind this clever twist. They both felt that making the girls the heroines was the way that they wanted this story to be told. One of the authors told me that she felt that there were not enough, "...girls as the hero [*sic*] stories written these days." That was their intent for this story. I also asked them why they did not want to share this story during Author's Circle, thinking maybe that the issue of gender, although clearly important to both girls, might have been a little uncomfortable for them to share publicly. This was not the rationale that they used to defend their reasoning. They both agreed that they just did not want to take time away from writing their new story to share this story. One of the authors felt that the sharing would take place as the children read the story themselves. The other author agreed. I wanted to see the reaction of the audience to the public presentation of this text; however my asking them to reconsider did not convince them to share.

Acknowledgment occurred from the inception of this story idea and both authors wanted to have female heroines to offset their absence in so many books. The stereotyping issue is problematic in this case, and could be argued either way. However, it was not their intent to stereotype, and in our conversation they explained their thoughtful choices and how they came to make them. Because they chose not to share this story, there was no formal peer response. I have no knowledge of any comments made informally regarding issues in this piece. Given the positive intention of the authors, I saw this writing as evidence of successful infusion.

In another example, A Boy and A Girl, the female author of this story used names of children within the class, but asked for permission before she wrote the story. She also explained to me that she wrote about a boy and a girl together because she felt that most stories written by girls only had girl characters. She said, "It wouldn't be fair to write boys and girls not together." This response concurred with the presentation of the social justice principle.

This was an interesting response. I believed that it followed the reasoning that I had used with the children when he had explained why social justice issues must be noticed. I wanted them to see that there were things in the world that were just not fair. There were, however, many that they could influence and maybe change, if they chose to take some control. Giving them the power to make changes when they felt that things were not fair, was a theme of the classroom discourse that I recorded being stressed throughout the school year with this group of second-grade children.

This girl openly acknowledged, with no prompting, the gender equity issues within her story, and explained her choices. Her comments indicated her awareness of the larger issues of gender inequities within the class writings. This was not a shared story, so no peer comments were public. Because the author chose not to make this story public, I did not include a copy of A Boy and A Girl in this chapter. I do, however, consider her unprompted views to be evidence of positive infusion of social justice principle.

Summary

Four stories were reviewed that demonstrated the children's understanding of the importance of representing gender in respectful ways. Within each of the stories presented, the authors were able to articulate clearly why they had selected their stories to be written in specific ways. The first two examples showed that once the issue of the lack of gender inclusion was presented, the author was anxious to show that he had incorporated the social justice principle into his writing. In the next two stories the authors reported that they were trying to present female characters in ways that showed respect. One author even made a reference to the lack of female characters presented in child-authored texts and wanted to make sure that her text would be included in the classroom collection. She felt that the admission of her text to the collection would rectify this situation.

The lessons which were taught to these children that illuminated the need for inclusion of gender in respectful ways were understood and carried forward by these students. They made sure that all the writing that was published met this standard. They were quick to report when this had not been addressed and made the author responsible for this inclusion within all published work.

Friendship and Trust

In addition to issues which related to gender showing up in children's writing, the issue of friendship and trust was also apparent. As reported in the literature review, children played out the classroom relationships throughout their writing. They used friends' names in ways that were positive, even when the school relationship had not been as ideal as they had chosen to record within their text (Phinney, 1992).

The delineated analytical questions for this topic are reprinted here. I report my findings related to these questions directly below the questions.

A. How was the issue of friendship and trust acknowledged in the children's writings or conversations?

B. How did the children handle issues of using one another's names in their writings, i.e., did they follow the class rules about this?

C. In order to positively alter the ways class members were presented or discussed, did the corrections come from the peer group, in a process I call peer correction (self and other)?

Analysis of the children's writing and conversations during Author's Circle showed that children within this classroom followed the principle of social justice when negotiating issues related to friendship and trust. They wrote stories using each others' names and presented these characters in a fictional genre. Following the principle of social justice, for the most part, the children presented their characters in positive ways

and usually asked permission before they used classmates names within their stories. However, there was one instance of a book being published that did not appear to follow this pattern which created tension between the author and the child named as a character in the story. This example appears within this section of the chapter as the second story example.

If someone did not feel comfortable with the depiction of the character with their name, the author was quick to make changes to the plot or remove the character from the text completely. The latter rarely took place, as the children were usually able to negotiate issues that were created relating to friendship and trust. Although I was present for many of the negotiations among children, the corrections made to the children's texts came from the children and not from him.

The following examples show how children negotiated tensions which occurred in their writing related to friendship and trust. These examples were chosen because they were fairly typical in the ways that children in this classroom handled these concerns. Each of these stories is presented with the story first, followed by a transcript of the conversation and an analysis, or a discussion if a transcript of the conversation was not available for analysis.

There were three stories that I reviewed that looked at the issue of friendship and trust. The first story provides an example of how one child used another child's name in her story and wrote about her knowing that the ways that she presented the character would match the social justice principle. It shows how both the author and the child who is named in the story used trust in each other to avoid any possible tension that may occur. This is followed by the conversation which I had with both the author and the child whose name was used. The analysis of this conversation shows how the author followed the social justice principle by showing respect for the child whose name was used.

The second story shows a different scenario from the first. In this example permission was implied but not directly given. The characters and the author had to negotiate a resolution. I include the conversations that I had with the author and the children involved in the story. The analysis of these conversations shows that the children each had a different interpretation of the social justice principle but were able to come to an amicable resolution. It was this resolution that showed how respect and inclusion were used by the children.

The final example was selected to demonstrate how relationships were played out in the creation of fictional characters using classroom relationships. In this story, the author presents herself and another student in a fictional story which creates an extension of the classroom relationship. The analysis of the interviews that I had with each student, the author and the student whose name was used, showed how the author was able to follow the classroom rule of asking permission along with writing a story that was respectful. She too drew upon the social justice principles presented.

A Bad Girl Named Opal

In the first story, A Bad Girl Named Opal, the author wrote about a girl who everyone thought was bad until she went to school, where she made friends and she became good. The girl in our class that had her name used was considered by teachers, parents and children to have been a model student. She had never been reprimanded in school, and was viewed by teachers and students as a very well-behaved student. Although a quiet child who tended to spend a great deal of time alone, Opal was considered to be a friend to many of the children within this class. The selection of her name and the way that it was used in this story might have been made because it was so safe. There did not seem to be anyone who read this text that would interpret this text as anything but fictional. Opal's reputation was well-documented throughout her experience here at school.

This story is written here just as the author had written it to be published. Although the author did not elect to bring this story to Author's Circle and share it with an audience of children, she had an opportunity to discuss it with me. Following the story is a portion of the interview that I had with both the author and Opal.

A Bad Girl Named Opal

One day there was a girl named Opal. She was a bad girl. She had no friends.

"I am not surprised!" said her mom.

"Mom!" said Opal.

"You are a bad girl, Opal," said her mom.

"You are a bad mom!" said Opal.

Opal's mom said, "Go to you bedroom".

"You mean, mean, mean mom," said Opal.

"Go!" said Opal's mom.

"Okay," said Opal.

It was the first day of school for Opal. She said to her mom, "Is school fun?"

"Yes, I loved school. It was fun!"

"Cool!" said Opal.

Opal's mom drove Opal to school. A teacher walked up to Opal and said, "Are you Opal?"

"Yes," said Opal.

"Hi, I am your teacher. Do you want to play with the other kids?"

"Oh yes," said Opal.

It was time to go home. The kids in the class all went home. Then Opal's mom came to pick her up from school. "Did you have fun?" said Opal's mom.

"Let's go home," said Opal's mom.

"See you tomorrow," Opal said to I.

The End

I was very interested in how Opal felt about having her name used in a classroom story and especially one in which she was not written about in the most flattering way, or
so I thought. I asked her about this, and have included a part of that interview below.

line 1	Teacher:	Did you mind having your name used in this story?
line 2	Opal:	No. I don't think the people in the stories are the same
line 3		as the people in the class. This is just a story.
line 4	Teacher:	Would you have minded if the story had a different
line 5		ending and if Opal was always a bad girl, even at the end
line 6		of the story?
line 7	Opal:	I wouldn't have cared how it turned out. I saw it after it
line 8		was published and it didn't matter to me. I knew that the
line 9		author [(used student's name here)] would end it good.
line 10	Teacher:	So that's why you let her use your name. I understand.

Opal did not mind because," This is just a story."

Still curious about this story, I then asked the author why she had selected this child's name for the story.

line 11	Teacher:	How did you know that you could use Opal's name in
line 12		your story?
line 13	Author:	I knew she wouldn't mind because we are friends and
line 14		good friends don't mind if their names are used like this.
line 15	Teacher:	Why did you choose to use Opal's name?

line 16 Author: I used her because she wouldn't mind. Other names
line 17 would have been of kids who would mind me using their
line 18 names. I made her good at the end so that's why I knew
line 19 she wouldn't mind. She wouldn't be mad.

As shown in lines 13-14, the author felt that her selection was safe. She had selected a friend, and a friend would not mind having her name used in another friend's story.

Only the author acknowledged that the issue of friendship and trust came into play here. She did consciously follow the rules about using a real child's name in her story by asking for permission, representing her respectfully and fairly, and ensuring a "happy ending" for that character. The real child whose name was used, however, saw no friendship and trust issues in the use at all since it was "just a story." I, however, count the author's actions and comments to indicate positive social justice infusion, since she knew and followed class rules.

There were several other stories published during this year that related to the issue of friendship and trust. Children used what they knew about their friendships as well as the class' social justice principle when they made decisions to insure that they would have no trouble with the use of friends' names within their texts. Students consistently offered reasoning similar to the previous author's whenever I questioned them about their choices of names of the characters within their stories. One child even told me that he knew that I was only asking him a question that I already knew the answer to because of my study.

<u>James' Girlfriend</u>

The authors in this classroom tried to follow the rules that had been established about the use of names of children within the classroom in the stories that they were

writing. I had discussed the importance of always getting the student's permission before including her/his name in a story and also making sure that the student was being portrayed in a respectful way. However, there were times when it did not always work the way that he had intended. In one example, James' Girlfriend, the author had used the names of children in her text which were the same as the names of several students within the classroom. The author said that she asked the students' permission before for other stories, and was told by the female student, who had her name used in the story, that she did not mind her name being used in this author's stories. However, this student did not give permission for her name to be used in this particular story and she told the author that she did not want the story to be published if her name was going to be used. She thought it would be fine for the author to have this story in the author's writing folder, or to have it placed into her classroom portfolio, which were more private than having it placed on the published bookshelf. It seemed that the child who had her name in the story was afraid that if this story were published and then shared, other children from the class would make fun of her. I believe that this mixed message to the author from the student of not giving permission to have her name used and then telling the author that she did not want this story published if her name was used might have added to the confusion. Well, this story slipped by, and was published and shared. In similar situations, I always asked the children who had their names used in stories to check over the text before it went to the publishing center. This step had not been taken this time. In this instance, I had erred in publishing the text and the author had erred in asking that it be published. The author and the girl whose name was used had a conversation with me about what to do about the problem with this text.

The following is part of that conversation. Child 1 was the student who had her name used in the text. Her conversation is captured in lines 1-12. In lines 6-7 of the

transcript of our interview, she talked about how she felt about having this story made public.

The other student was the author of the story. Her conversation is captured in lines 13-29. Because of the topic that we were discussing, and because at the time of this interview both girls were a little upset, I conducted these interviews separately. I began the interview by asking child 1 why she was so upset. Her response begins this transcript.

line 1	Child 1:	I read this story when [Author's name] was typing it.
line 2		She told me that she used my name in the story because I
line 3		have a pretty name.
line 4	Teacher:	That was a nice reason. You do have a pretty name.
line 5		How did you feel when your read this story?
line 6	Child 1:	I felt embarrassed because of the boy/girl thing. She
line 7		said that she wouldn't publish it, but she did.
line 8	Teacher:	I know that it was a mistake. She didn't mean to have it
line 9		published. I should have checked with you first and I
line 10		didn't. I too made a mistake. I am sorry. What would
line 11		you like to do about this now?
line 12	Child 1:	I think she should change my name to another name.

I told Child 1 that I thought she had a good idea, and this concluded my conversation with her. She went back to her writing, but knew that I was going to meet with the author next. That was the way I usually handled problems such as these in this classroom, so she expected me to follow my established procedure. As she was writing, I was aware of her eyes on me as she watched the reaction of the other child. I

could not tell if she was waiting for me to begin to scold the other child, or if she was planning to come to the author's rescue. Even though there was some tension now, these two girls considered each other to be close friends. My field notes indicated that this friendship was well established by the time I conducted these interviews, and continued throughout the school year.

The next transcript, lines 13-29, was the conversation I had with the author of this story. She talked about what she thought had happened. She explained that this was not the first time she had used the name of another student in one of her stories, but it was the first time that a problem with her using a name had been brought to my attention. Her reasoning in lines 14-18 was her explanation of why she felt secure in her selection of the name of her friend as the character's name for this story. She seemed to feel as though she had done nothing wrong, but also knew that her friend was very upset, which upset her, too. I believe she felt that she was in trouble, but also seemed a bit confused as to the reason. As stated in lines 14-18, she felt that she had followed the procedure the way it was meant to be followed, and in a similar manner as before. She seemed concerned that the results were different this time than in they had been in the past.

The transcript begins with my opening question to her. I started with the problem which seemed to be upsetting her, but did not want to appear to have made any judgments before hearing from her first. She was aware that I had just spoken to the other girl before talking with her now.

line 13	Teacher:	What happened this time that made it such a problem?
line 14	Author:	Well, there was this boy and a girl in my story. I asked
line 15		[said the boy's name from our class and in her story] and
line 16		he said that he didn't mind. I have used [said the girl's
line 17		name from our class and in her story] before and she

line 18		always says "yes," so I didn't ask her.
line 19	Teacher:	Do you understand why she is so upset? What do you
line 20		think should be done about this problem?
line 21	Author:	I'm upset, too. I am going to white out her name and
line 22		use another name. I'm going to let her pick the new
line 23		name too. That will make her know I am sorry. I know
line 24		that people might make fun with it like this.
line 25	Teacher:	I think that is a great idea. Do you think [I said the girl's
line 26		name] will like it if you do that? And what about [I said
line 27		the boy's name]? Are you going to change it?
line 28	Author:	[said the boy's name] said he liked the name. I'll go ask
line 29		[said the girl's name] now.

This was the end of our conversation. She left the table and went over to where the other girl was sitting. The two girls talked for a little while, and then they were both laughing. They walked over to the table where I was sitting and said that it was all fine now. They were arm-in-arm. I thought how quickly this had gone from apparent hurt feelings to just another daily event in our second grade.

The author and her once-again close friend proceeded to white out the offending name in the published text. They started to talk about the new name for the character they had selected and wrote the new name in its place. Then the author asked her friend if she wanted the book put on the shelf. I could not hear her response to this question, but the friend took the book from the author and put it on the second-grade published bookshelf. Once it was on the shelf, it would be public for everyone to read.

After talking to the girls, I had a conversation with the boy who had his name used within this story. He did not seem to have a problem. From the reports that the other two children had shared with me, he seemed fine with the story and the use of his

name as the other character. I brought him over for an interview because he asked me if I was "... going to talk to him about this mess." I thought that he might feel left out if I did not also interview him. He was almost sitting on my lap as I asked him questions. The other two children had sat in a chair next to me as we talked. After the interview, I thought he just wanted to sit and talk with me. That was fine with me, too.

Even though I felt that this was an unnecessary interview to address this problem, I conducted it in the same manner as I had the previous two. Here is part of that conversation. Lines 30-41 show his responses to this situation. His response was quite different from the girl who had her name used in the story.

line 30	Teacher:	[Used author's name] told me that you didn't mind
line 31		having your name used in her story.
line 32	Child:	That's right. I knew about it because lots of children
line 33		were talking about it. I don't care if it has my name in it.
line 34		She told me about it and said she wouldn't read it to the
line 35		class if I didn't want her to. I don't really care. I like the story.
line 36	Teacher:	Do you think children will make fun of this story?
line 37	Child:	Do you mean the boy/girl thing?
line 38	Teacher:	**[nods]**
line 39	Child:	[Uses author's name] said that someone was making
line 40		fun, but she told them to stop, and they did. That's all I
line 41		think about that.

After we finished talking, he asked me if he could get back to work. As he left, he asked me if he could come back and read with me. We read together before he went back to his desk to work.

The reason for the difference in their responses became more clear to me once I looked beyond the issue of friendship and trust. I looked at the status positions that each of these children held within our class. According to the personal dossier that I maintained for each student within my field notes, this boy was well-liked by everyone. He was considered to be a funny and a very talented student by both children and adults. He was a very confident child and very affectionate. He spent a great deal of his time practicing his social skills with the children and with the adults in second grade. He was very popular with both.

Using the same method to look at the status position of the girl whose name was used in the story, my notes reported that she was also a very talented student academically; however she had considerably more difficulty interacting with her peers. When she became involved in social situations, it seemed to me that it took quite a bit of effort for her to negotiate her way around the demands that they presented. Throughout the school year, there were many times when this student's difficulties with peer interactions required my interventions. Although she was quite poised with adults, my notes reported many experiences with children her own age were not as comfortable for her. She regularly requested meetings with me to discuss the unfair way that she had been treated by the other children. Usually, these difficulties were with the other girls in second grade. When they were not having a difficult time, these girls would be her closest friends.

In my first conversation, the girl who was upset about having had the story published did not mention friendship, and rejected my ideas about those reasons for her comfort/discomfort, but trust did arise (lines 6-7), since it had been violated. The author, however, did mention friendship implicitly (lines 14-18), with respect to not having thought she needed to ask her friend's permission to use her name. The author did recognize the trust violation, and already had a plan to rectify it. She had tried to follow the rules, but somehow her promise not to publish got broken. The girl felt

disrespected by the author, particularly because of the topic (boy/girl), if it had become public with her name in the story situation.

The entire problem came to my attention through the process of peer correcting, and it was remediated that way as well. My interviews were merely a place for these girls to show their ideas and corrections, and for the boy to get attention, but not for me to guide them in any way. I view this incident as partially successful, because the resolution was mutual and respectful, and peer-initiated; but partially unsuccessful, because it never should have occurred.

Derek Kitten

The final example that I am going to share shows how one child in second grade negotiated with another, and through her writing, dealt with tensions related to the relationship that she was trying to have with that student. Her story was called Derek Kitten. This was a story about a relationship between a kitten and a bear. These two unlikely friends ended up living happily ever after, once they had dealt with a little struggle. What I found so remarkable about this story was the way it paralleled the relationship that the author had tried to have with a child in the class, also named Derek. Although the story portrayed their relationship, her telling of this relationship was as she might have wanted it to be, and not as it actually was in the classroom. She used this story idea to create a vision of how her relationship with Derek might have been if she had been able to orchestrate the relationship her way.

Derek Kitten

Once upon a time there was a kitten named Derek. Derek had no family and no home. One day Derek saw an old bear.

"I'll sleep here tonight," said Derek. But if Derek knew what lived in the barn, he would have thought differently.

Derek had just laid down when a bear came into the barn. Derek jumped up and hid behind an old dresser. Derek saw there was enough

room for a bear's paw so Derek climbed into one of the dresser drawers. But the bear had seen him. Derek jumped on top of the dresser and knocked something down. It hit the bear on the head.

"Oh!" said Derek, "I'm sorry. What's your name?"

"Bear. What's yours?"

"Derek," said Derek. "Let's get some sleep."

"Okay," said Bear. So Bear and Derek went to sleep.

The next day Bear went to the woods. Derek went to market to get some fish. When he got to marked the got a salmon and took it to the barn. After eating a nice meal, they decided to take a nap. When they got up, they decided to take a walk through the woods. Soon they decided to live together forever.

The End

The classroom relationship between these two students began with a mutual interest in cats. The author was a very talented artist, and when Derek saw a cat that she had drawn, he asked me if he could sit at her table and asked if he could talk with her. She offered the picture of the cat that she had drawn to him, a gesture that I assume she felt would cement their friendship. Although he accepted the drawing and thanked her for her generous gift, and complimented her on her talent, Derek did not seem to wish to begin an exclusive friendship with this child, although that was exactly and only what she wanted with Derek.

At times throughout the beginning of the year, it seemed that Derek was very comfortable being her friend. This time could be viewed as the "meeting time," when the bear and the kitten first met. Although it was awkward for both of them, they seemed to want to make it work, or at least one of them did. That was as their friendship had begun. As time went on, however, the bear and the kitten continued to develop a stronger relationship.

It was at this point that the story and her experience with the child Derek parted ways. In class, Derek made it clear that he did not wish to spend so much time with

her. He looked for ways to avoid her and went as far as to ask if I would ask her to please leave him alone. I had been unaware of how he felt, and was a bit surprised that he did not wish to spend time working with her.

Although Derek never confided in me about his other friendships, I wondered if he was reacting to peer pressure. According to my field notes, it was at this time that he was beginning to build other relationships with boys in the class. This was something new for him. He was a very quiet and shy boy who did not start the year with many friends. I had been pleased when he had begun to spend time with the author. She, too, was having a difficult time forging lasting relationships, so I had thought that this was a very good match for both of them.

When Derek began to ask for his own space, the author increased her presence in his life. She called him at home (thanks to the list of phone numbers which I had provided to help bring children together outside of school), and followed him around looking for opportunities to be with him during writing time. I had tried to help her see that this was not the best way to make friends and tried to help her create other relationships, but these, too, were never very successful.

According to Derek's parents, at the end of the year conference, this situation still persisted, much to their chagrin. On the other hand, the author's parents were much happier about the way they saw their daughter working to build new relationships. I wondered if the conflicting messages added to her confusion.

I thought that the way that each of these children responded to the interview about this book was also very interesting. When asked, Derek did not seem to notice the connection between this story and the struggles that he was having maintaining a comfortable distance from the author. He thought it was a very nice story about a kitten. He really liked the pictures and seemed very comfortable with the main character's sharing his name. After all, it was their common love for kittens that began their friendship. This love for kittens never changed.

The author's reaction was quite different. She seemed very nervous when I asked her about the story idea. She fidgeted about in her chair and did not maintain eye contact as we spoke. This was unusual behavior for her. I was one of the few members of the classroom who took the time to listen to her, and we had shared many conversations.

As I spoke with her this time, I tried to maintain an even quality to my voice, and tried to make this conference seem to be the same as others they had had throughout the school year about the other pieces she had written. She was a very sophisticated young writer. It seemed to me that she was aware of what she had written, and how I was seeing the parallel relationship within this text. Throughout the conversation, she never admitted to the relationship's having been depicted in print. I did not think it was necessary or prudent to continue to push, so I decided to just let this story stand on its own and did not question the author further. None of the other children in the class expressed an understanding of this relationship when this book joined the others on the published bookshelf in second grade. They never made comments to me about its hidden message, but that did not convince me that some of them were not aware of what the story might have been telling. These may have been conversations that escaped my ears. In any case, no public acknowledgment of this friendship issue occurred.

The author used the character to position herself to be able to overcome the obstacles which existed between herself and the other child. She followed the principle of social justice by presenting the character in a respectful way and the classroom rules by asking permission to use the student's name in her story, and by making sure that the story presented the character with a class member's name in a positive way. The classroom discussions which related to friendship stressed these points. The author did create fiction out of life by having her story end the way that she would have liked the

school relationship to evolve, which did not violate the rules and was not disrespectful or exclusive.

Summary

The children in this classroom used the social justice principle when negotiating tensions related to issues of friendship and trust. The samples of writing that I reported show the ways that the children incorporated respect and inclusion into their writing choices.

In the first example, the author and the child who had her name used, both understood how their friendship and their trust of each other made it safe for both of them to participate in this writing classroom. The author knew that she could use her friend's name and not have to worry about the friend being upset. The friend relied upon trust in her friend the author. She knew that the story would turn out with her being presented in a respectful way.

The second example showed how it was necessary to negotiate this understanding to achieve the respect that they both wanted and needed. In the final example both children felt that the story included friends in a respectful way.

These examples of children's written texts show how they understood and incorporated the principle of social justice into their writing. They were examples of positive infusion. They demonstrate children's ability to use the social justice principle to insure that their writing was respectful and drew upon their friendships to help negotiate tensions.

Culture

While I compiled and reviewed the data for this chapter, it appeared to me that all of the stories published acknowledged somehow the social justice issues of gender,

friendship and trust. However, culture never appeared in any of these writings, nor in their conversations, as I show in this section. Although several lessons were presented and I explained that cultural bias was not to exist within their texts, all of the childrens' texts that were published presented their characters depicted as those within the dominant culture. References to different cultures were never made within these texts. In the Conclusions and Implications chapter of this thesis, I will offer ideas as to the reasons for this conspicuous absence.

As it stands, the questions I had created to delineate this topic and used to analyze the children's texts are as follows:

A. How were issues of cultural difference acknowledged in the children's writings or conversations?

B. How did the children handle issues of cultural group equity with respect to their fictional characters' development and presence in their writings, and in their conversations about their writings?

C. In order to positively alter the ways cultural group members were presented or discussed, did the corrections come from the peer group, in a process I call "peer correction" (self and other)?

They must be answered in the following ways.

For "A," these issues were never overly acknowledged by the children, despite my efforts to make them salient in many lessons during class meetings. I chose not to be the one who brought up this topic, wanting to see if the children would address these issues on their own. They never did; in fact, the only times these topics arose were in class meeting discussions (such as the one about children's literature, previously presented (on p. 65), which were all teacher-directed. Therefore, for "B,"

and "C," there are no positive or analytical answers, because in my corpus of data there were no examples of cultural issues in their writings or conversations.

Summary

After this first level of analysis, I could have believed that the inclusion of a social justice curriculum was a sufficient way to help children deal with the tensions, with the exception of culture, inherent with the Writing Workshop model of instruction. The children appeared to be happy and writing, the goals of a Writing Workshop. They produced and published several texts. During the school year, twenty-six individual authored student texts and thirty-one collaborative texts were published. Each of these texts demonstrated the children's attention to topic selection, showing respect and inclusion with regard to gender and friendship and trust. The texts they wrote and shared were respectful and used the principle which I had instructed. When concerns were raised by children about a particular aspect of the text which did not seem to adhere to our social justice principle, the author was able to defend their choice or agreed to amend the story. In both instances, the resolution matched our social justice principle. It appeared to me, through this level of analysis, that the children were able to negotiate the tensions that developed related to gender, friendship and trust.

However, as the next section will show, children were not as successful including the principle of social justice when dealing with tensions within conversations that they had had at the writing table. During these moments children rarely utilized respect or inclusion. My analysis of conversations shows how little the children relied upon the principle of social justice for helping them deal with the face-to-face interactions.

Student Conversations at the Writing Table

Within this section, the analysis of student conversations that were videotaped and transcribed are discussed. The conversations presented in the previous section were interviews conducted by me. Within this next section, I was not present in a didactic way while the children's conversations were taking place . When I was present, it was for very short periods of time, and usually I was unaware of what had just transpired at the writing table. As was done in the other sections where I reported the findings, the reporting comes from my field notes and not from my feelings as the teacher. After carefully and scrupulously analyzing the data regarding children's talk at the writing table, peer status emerged as a category which made it difficult to use the same research questions used in the childrens' writings for this analysis. However, I still applied the principle of social justice to the analysis of data within this section.

The negative cases which did not show up in the first level of analysis, the students' writing, will be presented in this section. This second level of analysis showed me the way that these children's conversations demonstrated their understanding of the peer status roles that they co-constructed within this second-grade classroom. I had not seen this while I was with them, nor had I noticed this from the first level of analysis which I had conducted on their writing.

For the purpose of this discussion, I define **peer status** as the position or rank of one student or one group of students in relation to others in a hierarchy of prestige, opportunity, and privilege. It was this hierarchy of prestige that was given to one group of students by the other children that created the tension. There were two main points which I discovered as I analyzed issues of peer status within this second grade. The first was that children were very aware of the status positions that they held and that were held by the other members of the class. When a child forgot her/his status position, this was quickly pointed out to her/him by the other members of the group. The status construction was very sophisticated, and required understanding to negotiate

the issues that these children seemed to contend with daily. The second point was that there were only a few children who relied on the principle of social justice to help negotiate the tensions that were created due to the status assignments within this class. These were the children who were perceived to have the lowest status. They were the children who knew the most through their own experiences about negotiating the different levels of status.

The first part of this section is designed to help the reader understand what was operating within this second grade that led to the rampant display of peer status and disregard of the social justice principle. Early in the year it was apparent that there was a difference in the way that the children and I understood the initial goals of the writing table. This led to re-negotiations of the appropriate writing table behaviors. Once this happened, the children were able to appropriate the writing table as a place for them to work out their social needs while completing the academic needs that were expected. Finally, this led to the blatant disregard of the social justice principle as the childrens' assigned peer status influenced their daily interactions.

The second part of this chapter, Student Status Groups, takes a closer look at peer status and how it was used at the writing table. I explain each student status group and give a label to the different status levels to facilitate distinguishing one status level from the others. I describe the characteristics of the different groupings of students and explain how each group of students understood the sophisticated process involved in negotiating status relationships. Using my definition of peer status, I analyze the ways that children maintained their position within the hierarchy and held other students within their positions as well. I selected three examples that were typical of the conversations that took place during writing time at the writing table.

Negotiating the Goals of the Writing Table

In the first section I begin with a more detailed review of the ways I had presented his expectations and rules for the children during Writing Workshop times at the writing table. In this way, I can then continue my analysis with those expectations in the foreground, so as more accurately to depict my "teacher presence" in their work times even when I was not physically present or overtly involved. (Refer to page 59 in the section "The Writing Table" for a complete list of the rules that were presented to the children while they worked at the writing table.)

In the next section I present a look at the goals of students at the writing table. The differences between their goals and my goals necessitated the need for teacher intervention. Teacher interventions at the writing table are the focus of the next section. In that section I will report the findings on how my intervention influenced the behavior of children at the writing table.

Each of the above sections leads to the eventual way that the writing table behavior was negotiated between me and the children. I explain why the children viewed this space as their space and why my interventions had so little effect on the students' behavior. It was a compromise that was reached by the children and me that allowed the presence of the behaviors that ignored the social justice principle.

I then present an example of how the writing table was appropriated by the children to facilitate their social needs. In this example, I discuss the children's use of the writing table as a place to negotiate friendship and trust. I include an example of an event that was captured on video tape showing the way status influenced two children's negotiated tensions related to friendship. My analysis of this transcript showed how the principle of social justice was not being utilized. In this example the children used status to exclude, to disrespect, and to not aid another child who was being unfairly reprimanded in a demeaning way. This example was selected because it is similar to

other instances when the social justice principle was not utilized to aid in solving tensions.

Expectations of the Teacher for the Writing Table

I provided the children with opportunities to work at the writing table during the Writing Workshop time each day throughout their year in second grade. I explained to them that it was my goal that they would discuss their writing. I expected these discussions to take place at this writing table. For those who preferred to work independently, I set up another section of the classroom for that purpose.

I explained to the children that while they worked at the writing table they would be videotaped, and that I might use their writings along with the videotapes for my research. Although this research project was very important to me and I wanted to know how they worked out issues when I was not present, I told the children that I expected them to continue to follow the same rules of Writing Workshop that were presented in the discussion of the Writing Workshop model and reported on page 73 of this chapter.

I also expected them to incorporate the social justice principle from the lessons that continued to be discussed. These lessons had been intended to help them deal with issues related to gender, culture, and friendship and trust. They had been reminded after these lessons to think about their own writing and make sure that they incorporated the social justice principle into their own writing. It had been stressed that their texts show both inclusion and respect as was the definition of the social justice principle.

I had several conversations with the students about my expectations, and then I proceeded to record and review conversations which took place while the children were at the writing table without me. These observations and conversations led me to believe that my expectations were understood, so I did not reiterate them formally.

Although I had believed that the children would follow my desired format for behavior and for production of writing at the writing table, the students understood that this writing table was a space for them to work independently from me. The next section discusses the different interpretation of the students about the goals for written work and behavior at the writing table.

Teacher Interventions at the Writing Table

The children used the writing table daily. It was a very popular space within their classroom, one that was always occupied by students. I believed that they completed many of their pieces of published work while spending time with their peers. However, I found that there was a lot that went on at the writing table that had very little to do with my expectations of appropriate writing behavior.

I had expected that the children would work on their writing independently at the writing table in the same ways as they did their writing while interacting with me in the classroom. I expected that they would produce writing pieces that could be used as instructional tools to help with literacy skills, as well as published pieces that would stand as models for future writing by the children. Although these academic expectations were met, it became quickly evident that the writing table was also a place where the students' classroom social lives were exposed and interpersonal issues were addressed. It was the writing, or the guise of writing, and the way that I had explained that this writing table was their space, that afforded them the opportunity to fulfill their social needs.

I did not approve of some of the behaviors that occurred at the writing table. I considered behavior that was taking time away from the writing task and that did not follow the social justice principle to be inappropriate. When I noticed that the children were not acting in the ways that I wanted them to act, I intervened and I tried to stop it.

Disappointingly, my review of the data revealed that once I left, the children usually continued where they had stopped. Their movement from the disapproved behaviors to what I wanted or expected was done for solely my benefit, and only occurred while I was involved with them.

As I reviewed the videotapes of the writing table, I was able to document that there were times that serious writing took place. However, there were many more times when the students' appropriate writing behaviors were mixed with inappropriate behaviors. My video tapes showed how I constantly encouraged conversations and behaviors which related to the topic of the writing, and continued to try to redirect conversations and behaviors which took the children away from their writing tasks. While there were attempts by me to monitor and change the inappropriate behavior that occurred at the writing table, the changes never were realized and a new understanding of acceptable behavior developed. In the next section I talk about this negotiation of writing table behavior.

Negotiation of Appropriate Writing Table Behaviors

As I reviewed my field notes, it appeared to me that these children understood something that I did not about their time at the writing table and how this time was to be used. It seemed as though they believed that this was "their" writing table: I had "given" it to them when I had told them that I expected them to be responsible for the space, and when I had left them in charge of themselves during this time. This is a very important point. It was this transfer of the space to the children that provided them with the understanding of why they were able to use this space for their social needs regardless of the social justice principle that I had expected them to follow. It was one of the few times of the school day that I had directly told them that they were to make their own decisions and that they would not usually have me intervening. I had told them how to use this space by making suggestions, but rarely held them accountable to

following my suggestions. They trusted my presentation; they believed they owned this time and this space. So, they made changes in the purposes and the functions of this writing space. Throughout the year, these changes made this time and space more tailored to their needs.

The children demonstrated to me that they understood that their behaviors and attitudes were part of the writing process, which they believed needed to be uninterrupted by adults. When I felt that I needed to interrupt to help return the children's focus to writing, these interventions were viewed as interruptions of their process.

The social roles that children co-created and maintained were practiced at the writing table. They all seemed to clearly understand their roles. They knew with whom they were "allowed" to talk, and they were very clear about which conversations were appropriate to have with which children. Their friendship networks, with the accompanying status, privilege, inclusion, and emotional issues, were continually co-created all day, and much of that co-construction occurred in this space, during Writing Workshop times, despite my best efforts to keep the time just for writing tasks.

I eventually reached a compromise with them, unwritten and unstated: if they produced acceptable quantities of writing, and their writing showed improvement, I would let them run their process as they saw fit. At the same time, I felt I had abdicated some of my responsibility as a teacher by making this concession. It was this decision that made it possible for the children to use the writing table as their own space. The changes that they made in the interpretation of what constituted appropriate behavior will be discussed in the next section.

Appropriation of the Writing Table by Students

Once it was understood and accepted that the behaviors would go unchallenged by me, the children began to use this writing space to verify their co-constructed status

positions. The following transcript demonstrates how well the children understood their place within their status-bound friendship network. It also shows how, at times, some of them related to the video camera as a much larger audience. In this particular example, one child used this "audience" to make sure everyone heard how she had been unjustly treated, and why this behavior should not be tolerated. It demonstrates how the principle of social justice was not used to help negotiate the tension between these children.

In this example, one of the children, Dianne, had come to me looking for support. I did not provide what she felt she needed. She then took the child with whom she was having a difficult time to the writing table, not to write, but to present her case again. The importance of having this documented on film prompted her to use this writing table space in this way.

Dianne, Mercedes, and Jamila are the three children in this example. Dianne was a very capable writer and had strong academic skills. She was an independent worker who had published many pieces of writing throughout the school year. However, her capability did not extend to the social sphere, where she had some difficulty with peer relationships. She used power over the other children who she felt were not academically or emotionally strong. She demanded gifts from children to secure their friendship and would promise friendship once they were delivered.

Mercedes was a capable student in many academic areas, although she did have a difficult time with some literacy concepts. Because she was younger than most children in second grade, there were questions at the beginning of the year about her placement in second grade. Some of the primary staff felt that a first-grade placement would have been more appropriate for her; however, they were willing to offer her the necessary support to help her to find academic success. Her parents, too, were willing to work with Mercedes at home. Maybe because of her social and academic weaknesses, or maybe because of her young age, Mercedes was a frequent target of

unkind behavior by the other children. These unkind behaviors always hurt her feelings.

Jamila, who entered the conversation after the transgression took place, was really just a pawn used by Dianne to upset Mercedes. Jamila was also a capable student who split her classroom time with several pullout programs. She was a hard worker who took pride in doing her best. She was a friend to several children and able to engage in conversations easily with her friends.

When this video tape began, Dianne and Mercedes were sitting at the writing table. The transcript begins with Dianne asking Mercedes to work at the writing table with her. Mercedes agreed to this, as Dianne expected.

line 1 Dianne: Can we do writing at the writing table? 'Cos the tape is on.

line 2 Mercedes: Ok. Will you help me write?

line 3 Dianne: Sure Mercedes. Sure.

At this point, something happened elsewhere in the room that caught Mercedes' attention, and she got up and left the table. Dianne called after her and was very upset when Mercedes did not return.

line 4 Dianne: Mercedes! Mercedes! You are suppose to be writing
line 5 here. You are suppose to be working. You can't just
line 6 get up and leave. What about our story? Mercedes! Mercedes!

Mercedes had already left the writing table. Dianne was upset that Mercedes had made the choice to write with her but that she had left Dianne alone at the writing

table. Dianne spoke out loudly, even though no one was at the table to hear her. She might have been talking for the camera.

line 7 Dianne: That's not fair. It's not nice.------ I am going to tell.

Dianne left the table and came to me. She told me that she had been working at the writing table with Mercedes and then Mercedes had left. I did not take the time to fully investigate why Dianne was so upset. According to my field notes, at the time that this took place, I was working with another group of children. From the way that I reacted to her concern, I did not feel that she needed anyone there to help her write. It was the writing or the academic need of children at the writing table that was my concern at this time of the day. It would seem that I was thinking only about her academic experience, and not her social needs. I also appeared more interested in the group of students that I was trying to engage in writing at the time that Dianne was complaining about Mercedes' actions.

I asked Dianne if she wanted to join my group, or if she wanted to work somewhere else. I told her that she didn't have to go back to the writing table. Dianne did not answer me. She left my group and returned to another table to write. It was not the writing table, but a place in the room that children used for writing. She continued to look quite upset.

After a few moments, Mercedes sat at the same table that Dianne had selected. She looked at Dianne, who ignored her. She started to write something. Dianne took the pencil away from her and began to scribble changes in Mercedes' writing. Mercedes again looked confused. She continued to watch.

At this point Jamila walked by the table. She had just returned from another class. She looked a little confused about where she was supposed to be working at that time of the morning, but she did not solicit help from anyone. She walked around the

classroom looking as though she were trying to figure this out on her own. Jamila and Mercedes were friends. Sometimes they worked together and played together while in the second grade classroom. Dianne was quite possessive about her friendship with Mercedes, and continually manipulated events to maintain the exclusivity of this friendship. She wanted other friends too, but wanted friends to be her friend only. She seemed to feel threatened by the idea that a child could be her friend and another child's friend, too. Dianne saw Jamila, and threw Mercedes' pencil down on the table. The transcript continues with what I interpreted as Dianne using Jamila's friendship to hurt Mercedes' feelings. Dianne called Jamila, using a voice too loud to be missed by Mercedes, who was sitting next to her. She leads Jamila to the writing table. Mercedes follows along and sits on the other side of the writing table.

line 8 Dianne: Jamila, can I talk to you?

Jamila sat down at the table with Dianne, and she and Dianne began to talk in a voice too quiet to be recorded by the videotape. Dianne began to write as Jamila looked over her shoulder. They both looked very engaged. Mercedes was left on the other side of the table watching. This behavior was in direct violation of the social justice principle of inclusion. It was also not treating Mercedes with respect. These points went unchallenged by anyone at that time.

The next part of this event shows how Dianne was able to use the writing space to fit her social agenda. Because of her status and her ability to direct both Mercedes and Jamila, Dianne was able to fulfill her social needs which also secured her higher status assignment among this group of girls.

This paragraph sets the scene. Dianne stopped writing and asked Mercedes to sit on the other side of the table, where the camera could get a better picture of her, and where her voice could be heard in the microphone. Dianne checked to see if the camera

was on them, and moved it a bit to be sure that Mercedes' face was in full view. She asked Jamila, who had followed them both to the other side of the writing table, to sit back down on the other side of the table, where she was out of the view of the video camera. After she had staged this event, Dianne spoke to Mercedes in an angry voice that could be heard clearly on the videotape, but I do not believe anyone away from the writing table could hear her. She also looked around as she was talking. I felt that maybe she was making sure that no one else could hear her. Lines 9-12 begins with Dianne talking with Mercedes.

line 9 Dianne: You have no right leaving the writing table. You said
line 10 that you were going to write and you signed up to write
line 11 so you HAVE to write. You can't just leave 'cos you
line 12 want to leave if you find someone more fun.

During this time, Mercedes just watched Dianne. She made no attempt to interrupt her or interject her feelings. Dianne looked into the camera and went to the other side of the table. She sat back down with Jamila and started to write again. Then Mercedes began to talk. She, too, used an angry voice, but she spoke more loudly than Dianne had.

line 13 Mercedes: I can leave and do other work. You wrote my name here.
line 14 I don't have to work here now.

Her voice trailed off as she watched Dianne and Jamila work. Dianne did not look at her while she was talking. Jamila watched her, then went back to watching Dianne. It seemed to me that at this point Mercedes understood that she was being excluded. She asked to join them, and received the following response from Dianne.

line 15 Mercedes: Can I come and play with you, Jamila?

line 16 Dianne: NO!

Dianne took Jamila, who by now was in view of the camera, by the arm and led her away from the camera. Mercedes put her head down on her arm and covered her face.

I asked Mercedes to come see me. I asked her what had happened. My notes state that she reported to me that Dianne had made her cry. The recorded voices of the video tape corroborate my field notes. She did not explain any further about this situation, so I asked Dianne to come and see me. At the time I was still working with the other group, which might have been why my voice sounded tense when I spoke to Dianne as I asked her to explain. That was all I said, "Explain."

Dianne said that everything was "ok now." Mercedes and Jamila went to another part of the room to work, which was out of the range of the camera. I was not able to get Dianne to explain more. The other girls were now working and I seemed concerned about maintaining the concentration of the group that I was working with so I just sent Dianne back to the writing table to work. Dianne, alone at the table, went back to work. She did not look upset any longer. It was at this point that I showed Dianne and other children who were aware of what had transpired that the writing table could be used for these purposes. Because I did not follow up and stop that which was before considered inappropriate behavior, I sent the unspoken message that this behavior would be condoned.

I believe that this event showed how children understood that they could use the camera to get an audience when they could not seem to find a live audience to listen to their concerns and that they could use the writing space to work out their social concerns. It appeared to me that Dianne physically positioned Mercedes and Jamila around the table so that she would be on the camera and could have her reactions

recorded. The tone of her voice and her words made me believe that she wanted to upset Mercedes. I thought it was very telling when she said in lines 9 - 12 that it was not ok for Mercedes to leave just because she found another person or someone more fun. She did not talk about another activity, which was the way that Mercedes had perceived her own reason for leaving.

Dianne took Mercedes' leaving the writing table personally. She seemed to feel as if Mercedes had selected another friend over her, and this hurt her feelings. She needed an audience to make Mercedes feel as bad as she had felt. She set the stage so that all that she wanted to happen could happen and be recorded. Having the audience was very important to Dianne. Speaking to Mercedes alone would not have accomplished this goal.

Differing perceptions of respect definitely entered into this equation, since Dianne believed that this had been violated by Mercedes. However, her intentions were not to hurt Dianne; the same cannot be said for Dianne. In fact, she seemed to be very purposeful in her attempts to humiliate, control, and otherwise upset Mercedes, to get some type of revenge for this perceived hurt. None of Dianne's behaviors or intentions followed the principle of social justice. She did not try to include Mercedes in the conversation or allow her an opportunity to explain herself. She did not treat Mercedes with respect, but made her feel bad about a situation and did not allow her to explain her position. When Mercedes tried to explain her position, Dianne ignored her response. The objectives that were used to describe the social justice principle were not included in this interaction. Even Jamila's passivity went against our principles, since she allowed Dianne's actions to occur unopposed. It would have been expected, if the idea of defending the respect of others had been clearly understood and taken up buy Jamila, that she would have challenged Dianne's behavior.

Overall, this is a very negative example of social justice curricular infusion; since it was mid-Winter, there is no real explanation, other than failure, for this event to

have occurred as it did. My "busyness" may have, in part, contributed to this failure. Given my goals of peer correction, any stronger interventions may have been counter-productive nonetheless.

As I watched the tapes, I continued to look for the reasons that children chose to come to the writing table. For some children, their reasons were clear. My field notes showed that some children had a need to have a larger audience, as in the example above. Although this was not a major category, it was a theme that emerged as I reviewed this data. Other issues that were discussed included: complaining about events or describing events that had taken place within their lives, or objections to another child's behavior. These too were themes that emerged as I analyzed the data from the conversations at the writing table. For many students, social rather than academic reasons made Writing Workshop times at this table quite popular.

Summary

I reported on the circumstances that helped to make this writing table a space for children to practice and demonstrate their status positions. There were differences between the behavioral goals that I had and that the students had for their work at the writing table. I expected them to produce quality writing that showed that they understood the principle of social justice. I also expected them to utilize this principle when negotiating social differences endemic to the atmosphere created during Writing Workshop. The children's interpretation of the writing space was enhanced by my stressing to them the expectation that they would work independently from me. I expected the social justice principle to afford them the necessary tool for negotiation of tensions.

The children understood that the writing space was their space and chose to appropriate this space to serve their needs. They completed the academic tasks required; however, they did not extend the objectives of the social justice principle to

aid them in negotiation of tensions. They used the social justice principle in their writing but only a few children from the lower status groups used this for negotiation. Because of the obvious completion of the academic task, and the lack of successful teacher interventions to correct behavioral disruptions, the children understood that I would allow them to run their process as they chose to do so. It became apparent to the children that their behaviors, regardless of how disrespectful or how exclusive, would be tolerated by me and, for the most part, by the other members of this class.

The themes that emerged in the review of the data all showed children's understandings of the peer status assignments and the importance that these understandings had for directing the ways that they negotiated tensions. The difference in my goals and students' goals for behavior at the writing table coupled with the way that the children were allowed to appropriate this space for their own use created an environment where peer status assignments could be demonstrated. In the next section, I describe how children used this writing space to establish and maintain their status positions within their friendship networks. I then analyze these events.

Negotiating Peer Status at the Writing Table

Within this section I report about the ways peer status assignments influenced the negotiations that took place at the writing table. I begin with an overview of the different levels of student status assignments and describe characteristics of each level. I also include three conversations and the analysis of each which demonstrate the ways that status assignments were negotiated by these children.

The first example shows what children knew and understood about status relationships and how not knowing or not understanding the status within this classroom was explained to children of perceived lower status who tried to overstep the line of behavior created by status assignments and used as a way to hold these children in their place. This example was selected for analysis because it was typical of the way

that the children related what they knew about status relationships within this class while at the writing table. It is another example of how the principle of social justice, which stressed respect for one another and required inclusion, was not used.

The second example shows how one child was able to elevate his status by understanding how status worked within this group and by understanding what was necessary to move from one status group to another. This example shows three points: how a child with lower status cleverly identified what was necessary to provide him access into a higher status group; how difficult it was for children from a higher status group to offer support to a member of a lower status group; and finally, how sophisticated this peer interaction was and how little regard was given to the social justice principle. Respect and inclusion were all but absent within this example.

The third and final example shows how two children from different status groups negotiated their relationship. This particular example shows how a child with the perceived lower status had to work the most to engage another child with perceived higher status in conversation. It is this example that highlights the interactions of children who most consistently utilized the social justice principle within this classroom. This interaction was a typical example of others where children with lower status negotiated status relationships and shows a somewhat successful use of the social justice principle.

Student Status Groups and Norms of Inclusion

Through my analysis, I was able to identify four distinct social groups within this second grade classroom. I identified the status of groups by their ability to direct the activity or be influenced by the power of others and be directed. It was the position or rank of one student or one group of students in relation to others in a hierarchy of prestige, opportunity, and privilege that facilitated this influence. I assigned each group a different alphabetical letter.

As I reviewed the videotapes, it seemed to me that the children who were in the lower status groups were, in many ways, responsible for allowing the children in the higher status group to maintain their places. There appeared to be an understanding that the way the status groups were organized left no room for anyone in the group to challenge the membership. This point was accepted by all children, but primarily by those who saw themselves as having very little status within this second grade. That acceptance, in part, made it possible for those with the higher status to maintain their positions.

I called the group that was able to consistently hold the most status Group "A." These children directed all the activities and set the pace of conversation when there was no adult to assume that role. Although these children were not equally strong academically, they each seemed to hold this high status, and it went unchallenged. "A" was the group that used the other three groups to maintain their status. They sometimes used the members of the other groups as the butts of jokes, or to fill in spaces in conversations by asking them irrelevant questions.

The "B" group consisted of children who seemed to move between both the "A" and the "C" groups. These children had the skills and understanding that allowed them to be competent in both groups. They were the children who did not seem to care as much about the status of others. These children thought it was very important to make sure that the children who were being treated "differently" were made to feel part of the group. Children who followed rules because they saw rules as important, and who felt that they were responsible for maintaining the "peace" within the classroom, would fit into this group.

An example of this membership would be the child who would give up a seat in a circle when a new person would come to join us. If I would tell the group that I was waiting for someone to make a space for this new arrival, it would usually be someone from the "B" status group who would move. If we were passing out a snack and there

was not enough of the most popular or desired treat, it would be a member of this group that would offer to take the less desired treat. If we were in a line waiting to leave and I noticed that something needed to be picked up, the one who moved from the line to pick it up would be a member of this status group. This pattern was consistent throughout my field notes during the school year, and seemed to be understood by everyone.

It appeared to me that the children from "C" group had the least amount of status. This group was comprised of those children who did not seem to understand consistently the way the classroom was working, and therefore continued to ask questions of adults and other children which showed a lack of understanding in both academic and behavioral concerns. They were the children who followed the lead of others, and who seemed to look longingly at the members of the "A" group, wishing that they could be included.

I recorded several instances on the videotape that showed these "C" children standing near the writing table, but not taking a seat. They just listened and watched. The invitation to join the group seated was never offered. It appeared to me throughout this school year that these children in group "C" had to use what they already understood about negotiation to gain entry into conversations with children from higher status group assignments. The few times that I recorded their being allowed to join this higher status group, once they did join the table it was usually for a short time. Interestingly, though, it was the members of the "C" group who consistently relied on the principle of social justice in negotiating the tensions that arose due to these status assignments. These children knew when they began the school year where they were in this hierarchy and what they needed to do as a way of maintaining a position within this classroom. These were the children who seemed to have the most practice with negotiation and who were the most successful in using strategies that they had learned

to interact with the other children within this classroom. Although they might not have been invited, they knew how to gain entry.

Another pattern that I noticed as I reviewed the videotapes was that many of the children who were in "C" group during the time that I collected data were also participants of school pullout programs. Although there were exceptions to this, these were the children who attended the special education or English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, or who received remedial reading instruction. All of these children were away from the classroom for some or most of the Writing Workshop time each day.

It seemed to me that the children who were not in these pullout programs believed that there was little or no need to include these children in the same way that they included others, because somehow they perceived that these children were not really part of the class, since their presence was only temporary. Their presence was never allowed to interrupt the process that was occurring during writing time. I recorded comments embedded in other conversations made by children who never left the classroom that support this observation. Comments such as, "she won't be here for this today" or "they leave, don't start writing or you'll have to finish it yourself," were often expressed.

The final group that I was able to identify had the fewest members. This was a group of children who didn't fit into any of the categories that I have just described. These children were class members who seemed to gain the status from those with whom they associated. The highest level of status within the group that was working was afforded to these children. Therefore, their level of status changed, depending on who was working at the writing table while they were there. They could actually achieve temporary "A" status if they were working with students from the "A" group. These were the same children whose names I often forgot when I was asked to name all of the children within my classroom. It was but one of the ways that I discovered that I, too, supported this status separation within this classroom. It was a very difficult

discovery for me to make: I contributed to the negative co-construction of student status roles within this classroom.

These different levels of status were well understood by the children in this classroom, with norms that the children understood and maintained throughout the school year. From my field notes it was apparent that children knew and understood four norms which maintained the different status levels at the writing table. The first norm that I constructed from the data that I reviewed was that children from Group C and sometimes from Group B were not allowed to initiate conversations with students from Group A while working at the writing table. There were several tapes that I reviewed that showed members of a lower status group sitting at the writing table with members of a higher status group. The members of the lower status group never participated or were really involved within the conversations which continued throughout the taping event. These children who were assigned lower status positions would simply watch and listen to the other children. There were instances where a child from the lower status group would offer a comment or an observation but would be ignored by the other children who were members of the higher status group.

The second norm that I was able to construct was that higher status was maintained by holding others in lower status positions. Children in higher status positions only seemed to initiate interaction with children from lower status groups but never allowed them to fully participate in the interactions. They only utilized the social justice principle when interacting with members of their own status group.

The third norm was that there were very few times when children were allowed to change from one status group to another. It took extreme finesse by a child to maneuver through the obstacles that defined the status groups. When this happened, the move was temporary and the peer status assignment made it necessary for children in lower status groups to employ strategies that did not fit the social justice principle

that they were taught in order for them to obtain a temporary shift in their status position.

The fourth norm was that the children in the lower status groups were not allowed to join the children in higher status groups unless I had instructed them to do this. And even with that invitation, these children , in both status groups, understood that this was not a true invitation for inclusion, but one imposed on them by me.

These norms, which overlapped during events, maintained the balance within these status groupings. I reviewed many hours of conversations that showed these norms in operation.

I selected the following three transcripts because they were typical of the behaviors and conversations that occurred at the writing table and showed clearly how these norms worked within this classroom. They illustrate how children were aware of the status positions that they held and those held by others. They show the sophistication of knowledge that these children possessed.

The first transcript is an example of norms two and three. This demonstrates Barbara's attempts and strategies to gain membership into a higher status group. She hoped that these attempts would allow her to be accepted by the members of the "A" group. None of her attempts were successful. At the end of the event, however, she understood what the other children had known from the beginning, and then accepted her place and her assigned status position. Her status position was maintained by the members of the higher status group. This event showed how children were aware of the sophistication of these peer relations.

The second example demonstrates the first and the fourth norm. In this event, one child, Mark, moved from his self-admitted place of lower status to a position of higher status using strategies which clearly go against the social justice principle that he had been taught. This highlights the first norm. His initial presence and limited

interaction with these children only occurred because he was assigned to this group by myself which highlights the fourth norm. It was one of the examples that showed how knowing their own status positions and that of the other students gave children the information needed to move from one status position to another. I selected this example because it presented a clear picture of how this temporary position shift was achieved. However, it is important to note that this was not a permanent shift. During subsequent writing events, the child had once again been placed in the position of lower status by his peers.

It was not the only case of children's being able to make this shift, but as I stated before, this was a temporary move, as were the others that I reviewed. There were no cases where a child was able to shift status position and maintain this shift for the duration of the data collection year.

The final transcript is an example of the fourth norm. It shows the conversation and behavior of two children who were joined together to share a piece of writing. I have included this transcript because it shows the work that needed to be done by children of the lower status group so that they could become involved in conversations with children from the higher status groups. It was not the only time that I observed this occurrence throughout the school year. This event and transcript clearly demonstrated this behavior.

Status Group Norms in Action

In this transcript, one child from the "C" group, Barbara, was trying to enter the "A" group. There were definite norms which prevented her from entering. Barbara was trying to understand how these norms worked. This transcript shows this and also shows how the children in the higher status assignments were able to maintain their status by holding children from lower status assignments in their places. It appeared that the girls in this high status group could laugh, play, and get silly, but when

someone who was not in the "A" group said something that could get her/him in trouble with the teacher, the members of the "A" group made it clear that she/he, a member of the "C" group, was in the lower group to stay. Reporting to the teacher with the intent of getting a peer in trouble was one of the strategies used by children from the higher status groups to demonstrate superiority over children in lower status groups and to insure that their relative positions would not change.

That was what happened to Barbara, who was a member of the "C" group. One of the members of the "A" group talked to another member of the "A" group. She was talking about underwear. This conversation was generated from some pictures in a book that they were looking at and reading. Barbara tried to enter the conversation by joining in with the same silly talk. The other girls felt that her comments crossed some line that they had established and left the table to tell me what had just taken place.

When the other girls left the table to talk to me about Barbara's behavior, Barbara seemed to be lost and confused about what had just taken place. She had been talking with these girls and had tried to be their friend. She was not saying anything different from what they were saying. She did not leave the table to tell me what they had said. She appeared to wonder why they were telling about her comments. Even as they were telling me about her comments, she did not seem to be fully aware of what was transpiring.

She was told by the girls upon their return that she had to leave the table and speak with the teacher. From the way that they told her and the expression on her face, she finally began to look as if she might have realized that something was wrong, but really, even at that point, she did not appear to have a clear understanding of all that was going on.

As I spoke to her, she continued to tell me that the others were talking about the same thing, and that the book on the table was talking about it too. The way that she spoke to me made me feel bad. She was not upset, only confused. I asked her to

return to work, and told her that she did not have to return to the writing table, but could choose another place to work.

Although I had missed the beginning of this conversation (until I viewed the video tape), I quickly realized that these other two children had just treated Barbara badly, and I did not want to force her to return to that group to work. When I asked her if she wanted me to speak to the other girls, too, thinking it might take away some of the stigma associated with having to talk to "the teacher" if they all had to talk to me, she said "no," and gave me a look (noted in my field notes) that seemed to question the whole thing. I was not convinced that Barbara ever understood what had just happened, or how she had been positioned to be the one to be chastised by these other children. It was the strategy of the "A" group used to hold children of the "C" group in their place.

After our conversation, Barbara chose to return to the writing table. Once she returned to the writing table, she tried to re-enter the conversation by playing the game "Truth or Dare" with the same girls who were there before, and who had just come to me to complain about her behavior. This is an example of the way that children from the "C" group tried to copy conversational strategies that they saw children from the "A" group use successfully with members of the "A" group during conversations as attempts to become included. It also demonstrates how these children also tried to use strategies that had once brought them success with the expectation that this too should work. The disappointing results seemed to baffle the student.

The following transcript begins with her return to the writing table, and her attempts to enter their conversation. This is an example from my data of the other extreme of exclusionary behavior in this type of conversation. It shows that the principle of social justice was not taken up by these children.

line 1	Barbara:	You dared me, so you have to do the first thing first.
line 2		That's what Derek said. If someone dares you, they
line 3		have to do it first.
line 4	Celeste:	Truth or Dare?
line 5	Barbara:	Truth.

The girls move in and begin to whisper too softly for the microphone to record their voices. Then they resumed conversing in their normal voices.

line 6	Meredith:	Do you have a boyfriend? Truth. Come on. You
line 7		know, Erik from Kindergarten? He loves me. He's in
line 8		love with me. I hate him, but he is in love with me. I'd
line 9		throw up on him.
line 10	Celeste:	Ok, Barbara. We're suppose to be talking quiet. You
line 11		should make a story.
line 12	Barbara:	With what? How 'bout I help you make Monkey
line 13		Business? How have you done so far?
line 14	Celeste:	Make up your own story like everybody else. Use your
line 15		imagination.
line 16	Barbara:	I HATE my imagination. I'm not a Barney Kid anymore.

Once she returned to the writing table, Barbara tried other strategies to become included. First she tried with the Truth of Dare game shown in line 1. That gained her access to the conversation for a little while, but as was shown in line 10, Celeste tried to take over by bringing the focus back to writing. At this point, Barbara acknowledged her lower status in line 16. She was not just asking the two girls for help with her writing but also letting them see how much more status they held than

she. She belittled herself by admitting that she did not have the skills that they both possessed, which allowed them such success with this process.

This belittling to gain acceptance was a double-edged sword. It was another way of gaining entrance into the conversation, if not into the group, but at the same time, it supported the strategies which high status group members used to exclude others.

The following section of this transcript shows how Barbara used a new strategy once another member of the "A" group joined the table. (Although most of the audio portion was clear, there were a few words that I was unable to hear. I have used ------- to designate language that was unintelligible to me.)

line 17	Barbara:	Hello Gwenne. Ok, let me tell you this joke. Why did
line 18		the ------- throw the butter out the window?
line 19	Melanine:	------- I taught her this joke.
line 20	Gwenne:	I don't know.
line 21	Barbara:	To see the butter fly. Get it? To see the BUTTER fly?
line 22	Meredith and Gwenne:	Oh ... I ... get ... it...

Once Barbara told the joke she lost the attention of the girls. Even with the help of Meredith, who in line 19, acknowledged that she was the one who told Barbara the joke, Barbara was still unable to gain access to this group. Meredith then read her story to Gwenne, which put up an invisible barrier blocking Barbara. Once again, Barbara was left out of this interaction. She then tried another joke that was part of the same strategy, which she might have felt worked a little for her the last time. Line 23 starts with her new attempt.

line 23	Barbara:	MUSTARD AND KETCHUP... UM... MUSTARD

line 24		AND KETCHUP (talking loudly trying to get Gwenne's
line 25		attention) Um ...Gwenne, Mustard and Ketchup were
line 26		having a race and mustard couldn't catch up.
line 27	Gwenne:	What?
line 28	Barbara:	Mustard and ketchup were having a race and ketchup
line 29		couldn't catch up (Finally getting her attention she
line 30		messes up the joke).
line 31	Celeste:	Mustard and ketchup were having a race and mustard couldn't catch up.

This attempt also failed. It did not help her when she messed up the joke and needed someone to help her repair it. It became clearer to me as I watched this interaction that Gwenne was getting fed up with Barbara and her attempts to join this group and this conversation. Celeste's having to repeat the joke in lines 31-32 was viewed by these girls in disgust. Barbara then started to burp. It was her final attempt to become a member of this group, using silly behavior as her only strategy for entrance into a group. Line 33 begins with this attempt.

line 33	Barbara:	[burps]
line 34	Celeste:	That's disgusting.
line 35	Gwenne:	Yeah, you are Barbara.
line 36	Barbara:	That was a fake burp.
line 37	Gwenne:	Well stop burping.
line 38	Barbara:	My body makes me burp too much when I laugh.

Barbara then becomes very silly. The girls were looking at her as if her behavior was really out of place. They were quite disgusted by her actions. They began to yell at her. Line 39 begins with Gwenne yelling at her.

line 39	Gwenne:	BARBARA! DON'T! Barbara the camera is on.
line 40	Barbara:	I know.
line 41	Meredith:	(To Gwenne) What are you writing?
line 42	Gwenne:	A school story.
line 43	Meredith	I like that kind of a story.

On her final attempt to be included as a member of this group, Barbara burped. This was not accepted. In line 36, Barbara tried to cover her actions by claiming that this was not a real burp, but only a fake. She then refuted herself in line 38 by giving an explanation for her actions. She knew that the newest member of this writing table group, Gwenne, held the highest status, and Barbara worked very hard to win her approval. She told silly jokes and made fun or herself trying to gain her attention and her approval. Unfortunately, she also burped, which was quite repulsive to Gwenne. She was told to "get it together" by Gwenne. In line 35, Gwenne told Barbara that she was disgusting, not just her burp. Then Gwenne took the other two girls into a conversation and left Barbara out. It was as if they left the table and Barbara was left alone.

Barbara seemed to be very embarrassed by all of this. She moved her pencil around her paper posturing writing, but did not look very engaged in writing or very happy. I wondered why she did not leave the table, but thought that she might have been thinking that maybe leaving the writing table would have provided the other girls with an opportunity to talk about her behind her back. This additional humiliation might have been too much for Barbara to deal with at this time.

I do believe, however, that by this point Barbara was no longer confused as she had been before, and was now very clear about what had just happened to her. I believe she was also clear about who she was and was not allowed to include as her friends. The girls at this writing table had just explained to her how the rules of status operated within this classroom.

The lack of adherence to the social justice principle was rampant in this event. There was no respect or inclusion in the behaviors of the girls from the "A" group towards Barbara. Barbara never talked about wanting to be friends, or to be "in," but her behaviors and self-deprecating remarks were intended to achieve those goals and failed. At best, she entered the conversation occasionally, but the group members never accepted her into their group, and took every opportunity to belittle and exclude her. Given that this occurred rather late in the school year, it was especially disappointing to document.

The Friendship Teams

The status of students became quite apparent when they were recorded working in Friendship Teams. These Friendship Teams were groups of children whom I had preselected to work together. I had asked them to complete projects, to solve a problem or to answer questions. These questions dealt with our classroom community or dealt with the larger society outside our classroom. The members of the group were representative of the whole class. I put the children into these groups with other children whom they would not usually have chosen opportunities to work with. I tried to make sure that gender, culture and classroom status were fairly represented in each group.

When I asked the children to write about the goals of their "Friendship Teams" as one question for the group, their responses suggested to me that they had picked up the language of their classroom discourse. The following conversation, with Mark and

the other members from one of these friendship teams, was recorded as they were asked to talk about their goals. I had this group work at the writing table so that their conversation and activity could be video recorded. They were aware that they were being videotaped and knew that this videotape could be added to the data for my study.

This transcript shows several of the norms in operation. It shows how members of the "A" status group would ignore the comments or suggestions of members of lower status groups, the first norm that I described earlier. It also demonstrates how children from lower status groups were rarely allowed to change their status assignments and then only temporarily, the third norm. Finally, it shows how children from the high status group did not utilize the social justice principle when interacting with members of a lower status assigned position, the second norm.

The group of children in this example were called "The Dolphins" Friendship Team. They had selected this name themselves as did all the other "Friendship Teams." The children were working on a collective project at the writing table while all the other teams completed the same task at different places around the second grade classroom. The children in this team included members from all of the status groups that I have described. The following is the background for this incident.

Everyone was doing something on the poster. This poster was a group project that contained their group name. Mark, a member of the lowest status group was doing nothing. The others were working. Gwenne, a member of the highest status group was told by Charles, another member of the same status group, that her work was too small. Charles told her that he would do the work that she had started. Because he carried the same status, he was allowed to get away with this declaration without objection or challenge. Once he spoke, everyone who was working backed away from the project. Then one member of the group, Syd, who gleaned the status from the highest status member, began to draw. At that point the others were allowed to draw. They all moved in to draw except Mark, the member from the lowest status group. No

one seemed to care that Mark was not contributing. They made no comments about what he was doing as he continued to play with a marker, to eat and to make a humming noise.

Mark had left the writing table. The group continued to come up with ideas and worked without noticing that he had left. When Mark returned to the writing table, he brought a sandwich with him. No one asked him why he was eating or if he would share this sandwich with them. They continued to exclude Mark as he continued to eat and watch them work. He appeared to be more interested in the sandwich than he was with the project. It seemed to me as if he was excluding himself too during this project. This was in direct violation of the social justice principle. Because he was a member of the lowest status group and the others held higher status, no one commented.

In Mark's absence, the rest of the group chose a name for their group, "The Dolphins." It became quickly evident to me that one member, Charles, was revered by the group. He held very high status in this classroom. The other members of the group seemed to pander to him.

The transcript begins with Charles taking charge and gathering the support of his ideas from the other members.

line 1	Charles:	Ok. Is that all everybody wants? Is it time for voting?
line 2	Gwenne:	Yup
line 3	Charles:	Ok! Everybody wants Dolphins?
line 4	Gwenne:	No, wait.
line 5	Charles:	We can't vote, we need April. April! We need you.
line 6	Gwenne:	We believe in...
line 7	Mark:	We believe in God.
line 8	Gwenne:	We already did that. We believe in... We believe in
line 9		working together. We believe in working together.

line 10		We believe in working together.
line 11	Charles:	Ok. All in favor of Dolphins? That is five. One, two,
line 12		three, four, five.
line 13	Gwenne:	Ok Charles, draw a dolphin.
line 14	Charles:	Ok, I'll try. I'll do it lightly. Cos I might mess up. If
line 15		you see me getting darker than that, then tell me because
line 16		I need to be able to erase it.
line 17	Gwenne:	Well we're going to color it in with markers.
line 18	Mark:	Where's your real side of the marker?
line 19	Gwenne:	We can just turn it over. I'll write The Dolphins.
line 20	Charles:	It has to be big. Why don't you sketch it first? It has to
line 21		be bigger than that! I'll write it. Do you want me to write it?
line 22	April:	Yeah that's good Charles. Keep doing it like that!

It was interesting to me to see how Charles's status allowed him to take control of this work. He came up and told Gwenne that he was going to do the writing. In line 15, as he asked Gwenne if he should do the writing, Charles took the marker from her and he began to write. April gave him the support to continue this behavior in line 16 where she acknowledges his work and his good ideas.

Mark was not involved in the project at all. He interjected an idea to complete Gwenne's idea in line 7 and was quickly shut off by Gwenne in line 8. He then began to play with a marker and finally he asked a question in line 13. He wondered if using another side of the marker would help make the drawing look better. No one acknowledged his question or his presence at this table. This is an example of the first norm.

In the next section of this transcript, Mark displays his understanding of how the peer status assignments make it necessary to employ strategies that do not fit the

social justice principle for him to gain access, the third norm. This inclusion into the higher status group was made possible by his disrespectful comments about others at the table who also did not hold the highest status positions. Mark then began to talk about his birthday party. His birthday announcement changed the whole social interaction and changed the way the writing continued at the table.

Joe left the table for a little while and the following conversation took place. In this transcript, line 23 begins with Gwenne asking Mark if Saville was invited to the party that he announced to everyone that he was having. This is a continuation of the same writing event from above.

line 23	Gwenne:	Syd, are you invited to Mark's birthday party?
line 24	Mark:	No, she isn't.
line 25	Gwenne:	You're invited, right, Charles?
line 26	Charles:	Yah.
line 27	Charles:	Who, who do you like in this class?
line 28	Gwenne:	Well.
line 29	April:	Terrance?
line 30	Gwenne:	He's not in this class. Well, I don't want to say it.
line 31	April:	'Cos you hate Mark?
line 32	Gwenne:	No
line 33	Charles:	I like Mark.
line 34	April:	[To Saville] Are you invited to Mark's birthday?
line 35	Saville:	[(shrugs]
line 36	Mark:	No.
line 37	Gwenne:	Are YOU April?
line 38	April:	[shakes her head "no"]
line 39	Gwenne:	Joe is.

line 40	Mark:	Yup. Joe is. Charles is.
line 41	April:	Two people at this table aren't invited to your party, me
line 42		and Saville.
line 43	Mark:	Well, maybe you'll be invited NEXT year.

Saville merely shrugs. She holds high status because, as a member of the group of students who gleans status from the other members at the table, Mark's comments really don't impress or upset her. April, a member of the lower status group, grew very quiet after she was asked by Gwenne, in line 37, if she had also been invited to the party. For a while April put her head down on her arm. She actually turned away from the group and faced the wall. Then she slowly got back to work. No one said anything to her while she had her head down although several of the "A" group members were watching her as they worked. It was obvious to me that she was upset by Mark's comment which excluded her from the party and was in direct violation of the social justice principle that they all understood.

It was clear to me that this conversation, which showed who held which status, also showed how children sometimes dealt with the hurt feelings of another child. April was a member of status group "B". Although Gwenne and Charles both looked her way, neither of them offered her any comfort, another violation of the social justice principle. I wondered if her lack of status made it impossible for them to know how to support her and still maintain their status positions. This would follow the second norm, higher status was maintained by holding others in lower status positions. They might have felt that supporting April might have changed her status, thus affecting their own. I viewed data which showed children from the higher status groups supporting children from the same group as well as data showing children from the lower status group supporting children from the higher status group but never viewed data which

showed someone from the higher status group offering support to someone from a lower status group. This was not an established norm for this peer status assignment.

Mark's party became the vehicle that allowed him to move for a moment into the higher status group. Once it was established that he was "in," he began to make suggestions and the members of the group began to listen to him. After the members chose to allow him to join them, he leaned over the work and looked like the other members of this group. Who he was inviting to his party helped to define his status. Because he named the specific members whom this "A" group would never include in anything of equal status, he was now accepted. He became an included, rather than excluded, member of this group. The focus of the conversation then revolved around who he was and was not inviting to his party, a clear violation of the classroom rules which stated that party invitations that did not include all students had to be arranged away from school, since everyone was not going to be invited. This conversation became overtly unkind to those who were excluded and this exclusion and the lack of respect toward those not included was a violation of the social justice principle.

This transcript showed me that Mark knew and understood that having a birthday party was a way of gaining status with this group of children. He knew that knowing whom to invite was important but not as important as knowing whom to exclude. Syd and April were not members of the higher status group as were Gwenne, Charles and Joe. Joe was not at the table during this conversation but his status was understood by the other children.

I believe that April's admittance in lines 41-42 shows how well everyone understood that the two with the lower status were not to be included. In line 29, April tried to gain entry into this higher group by admitting that she, too, realizes that Terrance, who holds lower status than she, would not be invited to the party. This did not work for her. She never tried again during this conversation to become part of this group.

For Mark, knowing whom not to invite and making this public gained him access to this group. In line 36 he made it clear to everyone that Saville was not invited. Because he knew and understood how status relationships worked within this second grade and it was agreed upon by the other members of the status group, his entry to this status group was guaranteed.

As the project continued, Mark reverted back to some of his silly behavior. Even though the others continued to work, he continued to act silly. I asked him to leave the table. I had missed that this child was considering himself a member of this group and was feeling included. Mark was very upset with me for asking him to leave the table. He had finally been working with the children that I had expected him to work with, and then, once this happened, I had asked him to leave.

After viewing the videotapes, I believe that his temporary membership into this group as an accepted member was more important than the way he was being silly. Because I did not know or had not seen the whole event, I made a quick, unhelpful judgment and asked him to leave. I had judged his behavior as a disruption, and not as his celebration of membership into this group.

I thought it telling that none of the other children, his new group of "friends," came to his defense or offered support that might have made it clear to me that he was really working with this group at the time. They allowed him to once again be humiliated in front of them, as he had been so many times before, when he was asked to leave the group. The difference this time was that he was really an active participant in this group project, temporarily not an outsider, and I had ruined his moment.

When Mark returned to the project, after his time-out, everyone in the group was working on one part. They were drawing and coloring the water. They were concerned with finishing, and Gwenne suggested that everyone in the group needed to draw the water. Mark announced that he was not going to do anything. I believe that he was still upset with me for asking him to leave and maybe upset with the children

because no one said anything in his defense. This time their response to his rejection plea was quite different, and just what he needed to hear to help launch him back into the group work. The other members pleaded with him to help, and he joined them. At this point, they were all working. Line 44 begins with this part of the conversation.

line 44	Gwenne:	We work together, don't you think?
line 45		Mark you have to help us.
line 46	Charles:	PLEASE MARK! We can't do it without you!
line 47	April:	This is the last day we have to work on it. Or else
line 48		you're gonna have to go to a different group.
line 49	Gwenne:	Or else we're gonna have to do war. Because we didn't
line 50		make up our flag yet.
line 51	Mark:	I can't even reach it.
line 52	Gwenne:	Well, come over here.

Mark had finally gained full access to this group. Gwenne, who was ignoring him earlier, stated in lines 44-45 that they needed his help. In the following line, 46, Charles begged him to join them and it was April who reminded him that I was going to make him work with another group if he didn't work with them. This comment led me to believe that she was telling him that she did not want me to make him work with another group, but wanted him to stay with her group. She was drawing on the social justice principle to help negotiate this tension. It was an example of a child from a lower status position using the social justice principle to work with a child from a different status position, now it was a temporary "A" position. She included him as member of the class to be supported and thought of in a respectful way. Respect and inclusion were the two tenets of the social justice principle.

Interestingly, this comment from April, after Mark had announced to everyone that she was not going to be invited to his party and she realized that she was one of very few not invited, acknowledged that she was publicly being included with children who held lower status.

Mark's place in this group was also made very clear when Gwenne, who also invited him to join the work, then moved and made a space for him. He joined and was a full working member of this group.

As mentioned earlier, the birthday party discussion itself was a rule-breaking event, exclusionary and disrespectful, unkind and unfair. This was acknowledged by April's body language and affect, but not by anyone overtly. Unfortunately, it held rewards for Mark, and therefore stood as an example of "good" reasons to break rules and not follow the social justice principle. His desire to be accepted by "A" group members overrode his interest in following the rules; the group members desire to establish/re-establish exclusion/inclusion for the party invitation list also overrode any rule-enforcement inclinations on anyone's part. There was not respect or inclusion exhibited either before or after the birthday party discussion,.

Once again, there was no indication that the social justice principle had any positive effects on any of these students, except April who held a lower status position. This was quite disappointing, since it had occurred mid-year, after considerable attention to the social justice principle.

Use of the Social Justice Principle

The next example represents a somewhat successful use of the social justice principle infusion when a member of the "C" group was at the table with a member of the "A" group and is an example of the fourth norm that I was able to construct from the data relating to peer group status. As I mentioned earlier, there were very few times when a child was allowed to engage a member of a higher status group in conversation.

This time it was helped by my prodding. This "A" group member, Zeb, was consistently a leader, but had a difficult time during this event because there was only one person there, Jamila and she was not from the same status group. It was Jamila, who understood best the role that she must play. It was her understanding and finesse that finally got Zeb to engage in the conversation.

The following transcript shows how these two children became engaged in a meaningful conversation related to the writing task and how they each had to negotiate before they could find success. During this event, I asked Jamila to read her story to Zeb and asked him to respond by asking her questions that would help her to clarify her writing and make this a more understandable story.

line 1	Teacher:	[to Jamila] Do you want to share what you've written so far?
line 2		**[Jamila read her story about The Kids' Place to**
line 3		**Zeb. Her story talked about some of the things**
line 4		**that she did there each day. She listed them**
line 5		**and talked about each one.]**
line 6	Teacher:	[to Zeb] Do you have any questions for Jamila?
line 7	Zeb:	Un-hu.
line 8	Teacher:	How long have you been going to The Kids' Place?
line 9	Jamila:	I go everyday after school. I use to go just once or two
line 10		times but now my mom works so I go everyday.
line 11	Teacher:	[to Zeb] Can you tell Jamila about the time that you went
line 12		to kid sports?
line 13	Zeb:	I use to go but I don't go too much now. I went, went
line 14		when there was a Halloween party.
line 15	Jamila:	Did they have you play games?

line 16	Zeb:	Yeah. We went into this room and we had to guess what
line 17		the things were when the people tried to scare us.
line 18	Jamila:	It was just the people who work there. I think they were
line 19		in masks. Costumes like that.
line 20	Zeb:	Yeah, I wasn't too scared because I could tell who they
line 21		were. I looked behind before we were allowed to go in
line 22		and I saw them getting ready. Some kids were really
line 23		scared. Were you scared?
line 24	Jamila:	A little. Just a little. But I still went in.
line 25	Zeb:	Yeah. I did too. Do you have to eat snack? Do they
line 26		have any like fruit? Kind of fruit? I like the food they
line 27		have at After School Care.
line 28	Teacher:	[to Zeb] Do you think Jamila should put something about
line 29		the Halloween party in her story?
line 30	Zeb:	Yeah. Maybe. It's really a good story though.
line 31	Jamila:	Thank you.
line 32	Zeb:	You're welcome.

Although this writing conference started out without much comment from Zeb, by the end he had offered information about himself to Jamila. In line 30, he told her that she had written a very good story. She was very pleased. She should have been. She had done all the work necessary to negotiate the tensions throughout this interaction.

This interaction showed me how sophisticated the children who were members of the lower status group were about how to engage others in conversations that used the social justice principle. It was Jamila who needed to find ways to bring Zeb into her story. Through carefully selected sharing, as in line 15, she gave him what he

needed to continue the conversation. Then she continued to focus the conversation around what he knew about The Kids' Place to maintain his engagement. Finally, by lines 25-27, Zeb was asking Jamila questions that came from his interests and not from anything that she or I had started. As I watched the video tape of her work, I felt as if Jamila had used this strategy many times and felt quite comfortable and certain that she would be able to engage him in this way.

After I brought these two children together at the writing table, friendship and trust were negotiated in their conversation, initiated by Jamila, but continued by Zeb. Jamila was respectful, very kind, and very fair in her attempts to include and engage Zeb in conversation about his experience, which was an on-task conversation.

This showed something occurring which turned out to be a significant trend in this class, and which also mirrored the larger culture: lower status group members always do the work for both group members in order to create connections, if any connection is possible at all. Jamila and other members of both "B" and "C" groups were the only group members who consistently utilized the social justice principle to engage members of the "A" group in conversations which were inclusive and respectful. In these instances, the behavior of the lower-status members provided the built-in peer corrections needed to negotiate the status inequities in these situations.

From these occurrences, I finally believed that some of what I had been trying to infuse did succeed. I will discuss this and other implications from this recognition in my final chapter.

Summary

In this section I defined **peer status** as the position or rank of one student or one group of students in relation to others in a hierarchy of prestige, opportunity, and privilege. It was this hierarchy of prestige that was given to one group of students by

the other children, but not given to all children, that created the tensions at the writing table.

The combination of factors reported made the writing table a place where the peer status assignments became most obvious during the Writing Workshop. These assignments allowed children to decide who should or should not be respected and who should or should not be included. It made the writing table and the objectives of Writing Workshop available to some, but not to all.

The two main points which I discovered as I analyzed issues of peer status within this second grade were:

(1) children were very aware of the status positions that they held and those that were held by the other members of the class. The status construction was very sophisticated and required understanding to negotiate the issues that these children seemed to contend with daily,

(2) only a few children relied on the principle of social justice to help negotiate the tensions that were created due to the status assignments within this class. These were the children who were perceived to have the lower status. They were the children who knew through their own experiences the most about negotiation with members who hold the different levels of status.

Norms that were identified from the analysis were clearly understood by the children within this classroom. These norms allowed children opportunities to continue to demonstrate the ways that student status assignments operated in this classroom. The norms allowed them to choose with whom and when it was necessary to draw upon the social justice principle to help negotiate tensions which occurred during Writing Workshop. Their understandings of these norms made their status assignments more apparent.

Finally, this portion of the analysis showed how children who are perceived to have the least amount of status, as defined by the definition that I used, knew how to negotiate with children who held different status positions. At the ages of 7 or 8, these children had already learned what it meant to be disrespected and to be excluded and what they needed to do so that they could remain visible in this classroom. They understood how it felt to be disrespected and what they needed to do so that they could find a way to let their dignity and self-respect come through. This group of children taught me the most about the ways that some children must encounter life at school.

Summary of Findings

Bringing about any change in behavior is a very complicated and sophisticated endeavor. It requires large amounts of time and many instances of practice. Because of the complicated nature of the issues raised within this research study, the answers to these questions must be viewed in that respect.

The results of the analysis indicated that there was a mixed response to the inclusion of social justice curricula in the Writing Workshop pedagogy. There was evidence within the data that suggested that some of the children did understand why it was important to think about the effects that their words and written stories would have on others. My analysis showed that there were many times when children made choices which showed a direct response to the social justice infusion which I had provided. However, there were no examples in the data that demonstrated the principles of the social justice which related to culture. My data only had examples related to gender and friendship and trust. I discuss this disparity later in this chapter summary.

With respect to the children's writings, I found several examples of the ways that children were able to understand and incorporate the principles of social justice into their writing. They questioned each other when they felt that something that was

written had not included a view that was inclusive or a view that was not congruent with the social justice curricula that we had discussed. They made changes in their own writing and adapted their ideas when they discovered something in their writing that did not follow our lessons. They made suggestions to others which reflected new understandings and were able to articulate the reasons and purposes for these changes. I found that the social justice infusion into the children's writing was successful to some degree.

Regarding children's conversations, however, there were very few examples of positive social justice infusion that occurred during Writing Workshop. Although there were many times when the children were productive during writing time, and when the issues which I had identified as tensions were not present, when these tensions did become a problem, the children made very few references to the lessons that had been taught or to the general information that had been shared. The comments were often hurtful and in many cases caused an exacerbation of negative behavior. The tensions which arose from issues of gender, friendship and trust usually interfered with the writing process. Their response usually also took the focus away from the written work that was being completed. When tensions arose, the children handled them in ways that were often counter to the strategies that I had presented almost as if I had not ever presented these social justice principles.

The norms that were constructed from the data analysis were used by the children to maintain their status assignments within this classroom. These assignments were constant throughout the school year. They entered with these positions intact and did not experience changes unless they were temporarily allowed to join a higher status group. Knowing the status of each other as well as their own status did allow for these temporary shifts; however, this knowledge did not insure the ability to make subsequent shifts. Strategies were only successful one time. If student tried to use a strategy that had once afforded them this temporary shift it did not work the second

time. Barbara's attempts demonstrate this point. Each time she tried a strategy that had previously been successful, she was shown her status assignment by the other children.

Children come to school bringing their cultural and traditional values. These values or norms had been taught to them by their families and by their experiences in and out of school. They looked for ways to build bridges between their home cultures with the school culture (Dyson, 1993). I believe that this was demonstrated in this classroom through the ways that children from the lower peer status groups used the knowledge and skill to involve themselves with members of higher peer status groups. They used what they had been taught in school along with what they knew from home to help them to continue to be included as members of this classroom. It was in this way that the demonstration of culture was displayed in this classroom. Although there were no student written texts that used specific norms from home culture for me to analyze, nor were there conversations that directly asked or responded to the similarities or differences that cultural awareness provides, it was through the negotiations with members of higher status groups that children demonstrated how they used their knowledge that came from their home culture to bridge the challenges that they were presented with daily in school. Many of the children who came from non-mainstream cultures showed an understanding that they needed to respond to children from mainstream cultures in specific ways that would allow them to continue to participate in conversations. It was these children who picked up on the conversations and asked the questions. It was through their negotiation that conversations took place and they were not completely isolated from interaction at the writing table. These were not skills that I taught nor were they behaviors that I discussed with the children. They were known and understood by those who had learned that this was the way that people from non-mainstream cultures behaved. It is similar to the ways that adults interact when cross-cultural interactions occur or women interact with men outside familiar relationships.

These young children showed through their display what they had learned about cross-cultural interaction.

Children demonstrated what they had learned about culture within this classroom. Through the absence of clear examples of writing and of conversations relating to culture, the children showed what they understood to be appropriate. The examples and lessons that I shared showed how culture was depicted in negative ways and our conversations outlined why this was not acceptable. These conversations or lessons were very clear, very concrete for the children. They duplicated them within their writing. As stated earlier, there were no stories written to be published which made reference to negative cultural stereotyping.

There were no taped conversations which discussed positive infusion of culture into the curriculum or into our daily interaction. I had not led any of these conversation or brought this topic up for discussion. The children did not bring their ideas related to culture to the forum for discussion. I believe that my omission of discussion of the topic of culture in this way presented a specific understanding regarding the discussion of this topic. I believe that it was not considered to be a topic to be discussed and therefore was not discussed publicly. Although it may have been part of a larger underground or private conversation for which I was not involved, I had not created an environment where these thoughts could freely be exchanged. Therefore, they were not.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction and Overview of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the ways that tensions related to gender, friendship and trust, and culture were negotiated by these children, and whether or not the inclusion of a social justice curriculum into the pedagogy of writing workshop would influence these interactions. The reason for this focus was grounded in the literature on children's writing.

Tenets from a view of writing using sociolinguistic theory were used to support the research design, the data collection and the data analysis. Sociolinguistic theory seeks to make visible the social and the academic demands which occur within the classroom as the participants co-construct the environment and demonstrate the norms of behavior which have been accepted. Constructs which support sociolinguistic theory find their roots in ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974). An ethnography of communication looks for patterns of communication among people, and uses the patterns to make social life visible. In addition, this study also drew upon social justice education as a way to help students better understand their responsibilities while engaging in writing tasks within this classroom.

Data from this study included observations and photo copies of children's writings in the classroom for a full school year. This data included videotaped conversations and interactions of children working at a classroom writing table. The data sources were more fully described in Chapter 3.

The findings from this study were presented in Chapter 4 in four major sections. The first section provided an overview of the classroom along with a description of the writing table and the social justice pedagogy. Respect and inclusion, the goals of the social justice principle were defined as they applied to gender, friendship and trust, and culture.

The second section provided samples of the children's writing. Each sample was analyzed with respect to the tension it represented: gender, friendship and trust, and culture.

The third section provided samples of the children's conversations while they worked at the writing table. This section was divided into 2 sub-sections : negotiation of goals at the writing table and negotiating peer status at the writing table. Each of these was divided into expectations of the teacher for the writing table, teacher interventions at the writing table, negotiation of appropriate writing table behaviors, appropriations of the writing table by students and student status groups, analysis of student conversations, respectively.

Children were able to understand and incorporate the goals of the social justice principle into their writing; few examples of positive social justice infusion occurred during conversations at the writing table; norms constructed from the data described ways that children maintained status assignments during the school year; and children's cultural values were demonstrated through the ways that children from the lower status group used their skills to negotiate with members within higher status groups.

Within this final chapter, I discuss the findings from this study and offer explanations of the results. This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section I answer and discuss the main research question: **How do students respond to and make use of the social justice lessons in identifying and negotiating social tensions during Writing Workshop?** I discuss the results of the infusion of the social justice principle in the students' writing and in their conversations. I divided the children's writing into three subsections which relate to gender, friendship and trust, and culture.

In the second section I discuss the implications of the study for teaching. In this section I talk about children's social status, social justice curriculum infusion and establishing children's independence in the classroom.

This is followed by the third section where I discuss the implications of the study for further research. I ask three major questions which may lead to further study: Why was there no data available relating to culture when this topic was presented with the same attention as the other topics? Are there better ways to negotiate the role of teacher-researcher while collecting data within a classroom? Why were there such differences in the ways that curricular infusion was picked up by the children within their writings from the ways that it was picked up within their conversations? In the final section I discuss my thoughts about this work.

Discussion of the Findings

As stated in Chapter 4, there was a noticeable difference in the way that children responded to the social justice principle in negotiating tensions during different aspects of Writing Workshop. There were clear indications that children used the social justice principle when they wrote stories that were to be made public within this classroom. The same was not true for their conversations at the writing table. There were few instances that would support the idea that children included the social justice principle when confrontations arose during peer interactions at the writing table. One reason for the obvious difference between the ways that children incorporated this principle might be related in part to the way that these co-constructions took place. I analyzed two totally different activities, speaking and writing, yet tried to apply the same standard to both. I saw both as sociolinguistic segments of the writing time and did not recognize how differently the children would handle these co-constructions. It was, perhaps, unrealistic to apply the same

standards to both a formal (writing) and an informal (speaking) modality, and expect them to show similar results.

Another cause for the discrepancies between the ways that these children incorporated the social justice lessons within their writing and speaking may have been due to the attitudes and expectations of these children. They might have expected that I was going to try to change their writing because I was their teacher. They might have seen this as part of the responsibility of classroom teachers and accepted it as it was occurring. While this may have seemed to be an accepted part of my responsibility as their teacher, the expectation that I should also try to change their social and conversational behaviors might not have seemed so natural. They might not have seen it as my responsibility to change their social mores with respect to gender, friendship and trust, and culture, so they did not feel motivated to change their social interactions in those areas. Their reluctance to change might also have come from their not feeling that these changes were necessary. In addition, the issues that we had discussed which related to social interaction might not have seemed as tangible to them as the examples which I had shown them in books.

Furthermore, the overall effectiveness of the social justice principle infusion was interfered with because of the time that I devoted to this study. During the time that this study was taking place in my second-grade classroom, it was often the study and not follow-up on the social justice that took precedence. Had I made the infusion, and not the collection of data, my primary goal during that year, my results may have been more positive. With this extra effort, I might have seen stronger effects of the social-justice-principle-infused-lessons on children's writing table conversations. Although my intervening more often in their interactions might have had the effect of making them "perform" for me during those moments, it might have also helped some of the children to better understand how they could use the social justice principle at the moments that tensions were being negotiated.

There was no evidence of change in the children's writing or in their conversations which could be overtly related to the several lessons on cultural issues which I directed. Although I did make efforts to increase their understanding of the need to represent culture in more equitable ways in both their writing and their conversations, there was no evidence in any of the data that I analyzed that showed the effects of this particular social justice infusion. The children never acknowledged, questioned or peer-corrected culturally-based injustices in the time that I collected data. It was just not a topic for which I had data to review.

Friendship was another topic that I broached with the children, and one that they, too, brought to me for discussion. Although there was more positive evidence of a social justice influence within the writings of the children than there was in their conversations, I do believe that this particular part of the infusion was successful. There was clear evidence within the children's writings that they were writing stories which adhered to respect and inclusion, and they made changes when this was not so. There was also evidence of peer correction.

Children's Writings

I believe that there might be several reasons for the changes which occurred within students' writings. The indications of change which occurred might have been made possible due the reflective nature of written text. Children had an opportunity to review their writing and make changes before and after their writing was shared with their peers. They could listen to the ideas of other children, and use these ideas to influence the story changes that they made. Their ideas were also saved within the children's texts and could be referred to many times by peers each time that they read the students' published books. The additional pressure which came from our discussions and the lessons that were presented, and the multiple opportunities for

revision, might have made it seem more important and more possible to reflect their understanding of the social justice principle in these texts.

I believe that a level of trust was achieved through the infusion of our social justice principle. The children spoke honestly and openly about their friendships as they developed throughout the school year. They used the strength of these relationships to develop the skills and understandings which allowed them to comment and critique the writing of their peers.

Another possible reason for the children's taking up the social justice principle in their writing could have been due to the way that the writing process operated in this classroom. Children's published writing was under my direct supervision. The children had conferences with their peers and made changes to their work before they came to author's chair for a public sharing. Once they entered their work to be published, it was then shown to me and approved by me for publication, the teacher who taught them the social justice principle and required them to use this principle in their written work. Their writing demonstrated their understanding of the principle along with their understanding of this process. It would then follow that any work that they completed that did not meet this standard would not be shown to me. Without my direct supervision I might have seen samples of student writing that were more similar to the conversations which occurred while their writing was being composed at the writing table.

Issues Related to Gender

The most apparent changes in the children's writing occurred in response to the social justice principle which related to the issue of gender. The children asked questions of each other and made significant revisions to their writings in ways that related to the principle. They were very articulate about their reasons for changing original stories to reflect their understanding of the principle. They took pride in

being able to both spot the injustices which related to this issue, and make the necessary positive changes.

I reported in the literature review several studies in which gender influences were apparent in the students' writing. Kamler (1993) found that children used gender to reproduce stereotypical roles. In this study, the girl, Zoe was the receiver of the actions while the boy, Peter, was the doer. Peter placed the focus of the story on himself while Zoe placed it on others. While the girls were the objects of the stories, the boys wrote stories where they were the subjects.

In my study I found this was not the case. In the stories that I reviewed, girls and boys were positioned specifically to show that the author respected the need for balanced gender appropriations in their writings. In one story, The Wizard of Mythia, the male author gave the female character in his story the most power. In another story, Until Summer, boys and girls were presented as characters. In the story, Many Kittens, the female author wrote the story specifically to show girls as the heroine. This story was written to counter others that this author had encountered.

Students discussed reasons for their selections and related these to the social justice principle. They did not believe that following the gendered stereotyped roles was a way to show respect for each other and make sure that both genders were included in the stories that were published.

Issues Related to Friendship and Trust

There were also similarities in my findings with those in the literature that I reported on that related to issues of friendship and trust. Two points which I found that were discussed in the literature that I reviewed dealt with feelings of being made fun of and issues related to affection or girl/boy relationships. Lensmire (1994) discussed these two issues in his work. He found that some children were not willing to share their writing in Authors Circle for fear of being rejected. He reported that the

children feared being rejected by their peers and were concerned that some form of rejection would be too difficult for the teacher to rectify. Children being excluded from the discussion process was one example of rejection shared by Lensmire. He also described children using topics of peer relationships in an attempt to create funny or entertaining text. "The boys knew how to stir things up, bring up laughter and more teasing, denials and speculations that would provoke a response, especially as they shared the text with their peers (p. 424)." I too found both of these examples within my research. In the story James's Girlfriend the author used the names of two children in the class. The girl who had her name used was very upset that when this story was shared, she would have to endure ridicule from her peers that I would be unable to mediate. In this example both the fear of being teased along with the issue of girl/boy relationship were made evident in a child's text.

Another issue of friendship which I found related to the ways that boys and girls grouped themselves during writing workshop. During the writing time the children worked in mixed gendered groups, unlike the students in the studies reported by Hubbard (1989), Kamler (1993), Lensmire (1994), and Orellana (1995). Although during Writing Workshop and in the Author's Circles this was the case, I was never able to document a text being authored by a girl/boy writing team. This theme followed the gendered separation that was reported in all studies.

In a study by Phinney (1992), children used stories to shape their social standing within the classroom. I found this also to be true. In the story Derek Kitten, the author created a relationship with the characters in the story that mirrored the relationship that she tried to orchestrate between herself and another student. She was unable to carry this out in the classroom but was able to fictionalize the relationship within her story. This was very similar to the ways that the authors, Deborah and Ruth, dealt with character assignment and description within Phinney's study. The social justice principle provided an environment that was both inclusive and

respectful. As long as these qualities were displayed with student text, students were allowed to fictionalize their story lines. This was true for stories that depicted relationships that were close to the relationship that existed within the classroom.

Issues Related to Culture

There was very little representation of cultural awareness in the student's published stories. The narrow limitation of culture in my study was very different from the study conducted by Dyson (1993). In her work, Dyson reported the different ways that children used their cultural experiences to tell stories and the required negotiation that occurred in order for them to merge their official and their unofficial worlds. In her study, Dyson was able to trace the development of one student throughout the year. She documented the ways that he was able to create a " home in school" (p. 153) for himself.

In a similar study, Dyson (1997) reports on students' interaction during Author's Theater. She described one way that one African-American student drew upon his culture to convey the meaning of his writings. She also detailed the interaction of three girls as they found ways to include both their gender and their culture in their stories. Dyson was able to demonstrate the ways that these girls used both pictures and the writing to show that their presence challenged the images that were being marketed by the dominant commercial culture. She described ways that the teacher tried to infuse a sense of independence in these students but was not as successful in creating the type of confidence to move out of the expected realm as the students were able to do for each other.

I used these studies to draw insights on classroom procedures and strategies that would allow for this dynamic to become present. I was not able to find any examples of published work that demonstrated this type of movement from mainstream expectations to cultural independence. Disappointingly, all of the stories

that were published by these children in my classroom followed the look and the story language of dominant white culture. Although examples were used, they were not strong enough to change this overwhelming power to conform to the norm of the majority culture within this classroom.

In her work, Davies (1993) discusses children's reading and writing beyond gendered identities. Although the focus of this work was really gender, I found that many of her insights also pertained to issues of culture. She talks about ways to help children look at issues by "... disrupting old and creating new patterns, by seeing the dilemmas, not as cultural recipes/judgments, but as shifting cultural patterns that can be, that are being and that will be changed" (p. 198). Her report of the children in her study show how difficult it is to change the representation of culture in children's writing.

Tatum (1997) claims that all children of color, "... are aware from a very early age that ... they are different from mainstream White America" (p. 44). She describes an incident when she was a young child in school. On school picture day she came to school with her hair straight and to her shoulders, quite different from the way that she usually wore her hair. "How pretty you look, the White teacher said. The truth is I looked pretty every day, but a clear message was being sent both at home and at school about what real beauty was" (p. 45).

In her study, Tatum refers to five stages of racial identity development. In the first stage, pre-encounter, the child absorbed many beliefs and values of the dominant White culture. "The stereotypes, omissions, and distortions that reinforce notions of White superiority are breathed in by Black children as well as by White" (p. 55). By being socialized in this dominant culture, some Black children began to value the images represented by the dominant group more highly than those of their own culture. This was demonstrated in the study by Dyson as the girls discussed drawing

their goddesses differently from the White women with long blond hair that they were shown in the teacher's shared text.

The next stage was the encounter stage. Tatum reported that the transition to this stage was precipitated by an event or series of events which cause a heightened awareness of the significance of race. It forced the child to begin to grapple with ideas related to racism. Tatum's findings showed that this was especially true in schools where the population was predominately White.

Immersion was the third stage that Tatum discussed. She described this as the "birthday party effect" (p. 57). She described young children's parties as mixed with regard to race and culture, which reflected the diversity within the community. Although they might have been segregated by gender, at this age they were not by race or culture. Race and cultural segregation did not happen at parties until sleepovers or girl/boy events became popular.

The last two stages, internalization and internalization-commitment usually occurred with much older children than those within my study so I am not going to review these stages. I do feel that the first two and maybe the third stage of development were present and may have influenced behaviors, conversations and the children's writings in my classroom. The influences of this framework might be part of the reason for not having recorded data related to culture to analyze for this study.

She describes how children who are raised in a predominant culture take on the attributes of that culture. They begin to value all that the culture values and become almost one with that culture. This might have been what happened within my classroom. The few children who came from cultures outside the dominant culture were in some ways smothered by the dominant culture. We were not able to co-construct an environment where all of the children felt secure enough to write and converse about this issue. Although I had demonstrated through direct lessons my commitment to inclusion and respect of culture, it was not sufficient to override the

dominant cultural influences that existed within this classroom and within this community.

I believe that issues which influence status assignments and related to culture were discussed by the children during this school year. These were not included within their written texts. I believe that they presented their writing to follow the models that I presented. I demonstrated through literature the ways that negative stereotyping occurred within literature and helped them to understand why this was not appropriate within the social justice principle that had been taught. Because of this explanation, the children did not produce any written text which displayed negative images or description which related to the cultures of their story characters.

Children's Conversations

As I reported in Chapter 4, the children's conversations were not as positively influenced by the social justice principle as were their writings. I believe that this was due in part to the spontaneity of conversation. Conversation does not afford the same opportunities to reflect. Although a comment can be amended once reactions are registered, the fact that the idea had been expressed and heard by others cannot be changed. Once the idea had been made public, it was always part of the spoken record.

Influencing spontaneous language is a sophisticated endeavor. It would require many more incidents of support than were available during the school day. It would require more time to have the same degree of effect on the children as that which was made possible within their writing. The goals that I set to evoke such changes in both writing and speaking may not have been reasonable.

This leads to a question about the interpretation of teaching responsibilities by children. Behavioral and social changes can be accomplished with time and with focus. I am suggesting the idea that, from the children's perspective, this

responsibility might not have been viewed as mine. They might have believed that my responsibility was only to teach them to write, and to write with respect to inclusion and respect for all. Changing behaviors might not have been viewed by them as part of my responsibility.

Official/Unofficial Discourse

The differences between the children's response to the instruction of the social justice principle in their conversations and in their writing could also be viewed as the distinction made between official/unofficial discourse. In her discussion of unofficial literacy, Hubbard (1989) described desk messages. These were public messages that showed power, reflected mood, and described something of the personality of the writer. These messages were never publicly acknowledged by the official discourse of the classroom and along with note delivered to peers, went "... unacknowledged ... by the teacher" (p.300).

In my study, the writing that the children brought to me for approval before it was published followed the official classroom discourse. The social justice principle used respect and inclusion as the objectives. It was acknowledged by me and by the children each time a piece of writing was shared that met this criteria. Both the children and I reinforced this every time we commented on aspects of the writing that demonstrated an adherence to the social justice principle. This helped to continue the momentum of use of respect and inclusion within the students' writing.

The students' conversations were quite different. They were part of an "underground" discourse. Because I rarely commented directly to the children about the conversations that occurred at the writing table and because they themselves rarely chastised each other, these conversations went ahead unchallenged. For the most part, these conversations became part of a discourse of peers which did not follow the official classroom discourse. The ways that children shifted away from

conversations when I was present and then back to them once I left them alone demonstrated their ability to move from an "official" to an "unofficial" discourse during their time at the writing table.

Dyson (1992) reminds us that as teachers organize the official classroom, children organize the unofficial world formed in response to adult rules but enacted within the world of children. She states that children appropriate the discourse acts of others but use them within their own social spheres. She gives the example of the different interpretation of tattle telling. From the adult perspective, "... telling a 'grown-up' about a child's rule-breaking could be responsible behavior, a way of taking action to solve a potential problem. However, a tattle tale could have quite a different meaning in the imaginative universe shared by peers. Telling the teacher about a peer's rule-breaking could be a sign of disloyalty and weakness" (p. 53).

This example is very similar to the conversation at the writing table where Mark used his birthday to gain temporary access to the higher status group. It was clear to all the members at the table that this behavior was not only against classroom rules, it also went against the principle of social justice because if was both exclusive and disrespectful. With this knowledge and this understanding, none of the children came to me to report this conversation. Even children who were being excluded remained quiet about this conversation.

It was in fact the unofficial social dynamics that operated in this classroom that influenced and disrupted the official world of the classroom. Dyson describes this phenomena within the classroom as "... the existence of unofficial peer social worlds ... the intensive relationship work" (p. 54) that exists within the classroom community as influenced by the divisions and the inequities of the larger society which are already understood by young children. These inequities would include surface characteristics (age, gender, race), social attitudes, and cultural behaviors of the children. " Within the peer group, the major social work of young children is to

gain some sense of control and agency" (57). The children at the writing table not only talked about the unofficial social world, they constructed it. They acted in sophisticated ways "...based on their understanding of the human sense of these familiar social arenas..." (p.76).

In the student conversations that were recorded, there were no examples of conversation related to culture. I believe that the lack of conversation is striking data revealed within this study and can be better understood by closer examination of the classroom environment. Many of the children who were from less dominant cultures were participating in pullout programs. These children were not always considered by many of the members of the classroom to be full participants. Their absence from the major classroom activities may have contributed to their absence in recorded conversations. It might not have seemed important to the students to discuss the children who were not always in attendance. I suspect that the classroom environment may not have been constructed in a way that would have made it seem appropriate to have these conversations given that the children for whom we would be discussing were not part of the mainstream population.

Peer Status Assignments

Specific norms were understood and used by the children to maintain the status assignments that were in operation within this classroom. Although their status never changed, it became most apparent as they worked together at the writing table. As discussed in chapter 4, the following norms were constructed from the review of the data: children from lower status groups were not allowed to initiate conversations with children from higher status groups, higher status was maintained through the use of strategies that held others in lower status positions, there were few times that children were allowed temporary movement to a higher status position, and children

from lower status groups could only be included in groups with higher members if I had constructed these groups.

Davies (1993) discusses status and class as it related to gender. She describes the difference in behaviors between two groups of students and attributes this difference to the status held by one group, afforded them by their enrollment in a particular school. This status allowed them to participate differently than other children in her study. Although gender influences were present in conversations at the writing table, and the status of boys (such as Charles during the birthday conversation) influenced decisions that were made, it seemed that status overrode gender within this group of students. Mark's gender did not allow him to make decisions or to participate in conversations that were being initiated by Gwenne. Her gender did not preclude her from a position of power and decision making ability. She was respected, or at least never challenged by her peers. Even the boys who held higher status rarely challenged her assessment of situations in which they were all engaged, such a group projects. They had reached a balance in their relationship. Although never verbally challenged, there were times when Charles would step in and take over without discussion. When this occurred, Gwenne never interfered.

Another example which does not agree with the findings of Davies (1993) occurred during the sharing of students' writing. The text, Until Summer, authored by a girl in the class, was not challenged for its limited male gendered representation. This female author held a status position that allowed her to make decisions that did not always follow the official classroom discourse without fear of reprisal by the other students. It is another example of the influence that status alone had over gender.

Lensmire (1994) also found that social status influenced the daily operation of the classroom during Writing Workshop time. He reported that there were certain children that one child, "...who held a privileged position in the social hierarchy of

boys" (p. 62), would not choose as collaborators or audience members. These children were identified as holding much lower status positions.

This finding was very similar to the conversation at the writing table with Barbara. Although she tried to employ many strategies which she hoped would allow her to gain access into the conversation, she was never successful. There was a clear social hierarchy which assigned status positions to each child. The higher status group maintained specific working arrangements that acted as barriers and would not allow outsiders to penetrate. Just as Lensmire (1994) discovered, certain children continued to struggle and their struggles were "... caught up with ... status and influences among peers, and affected... experiences in the workshop" (p. 65). These influences made the Writing Workshop time a less supportive place for some children to write and a riskier place for children who were not part of the higher status groups.

Lensmire (1994) reported that writing was risky for these children with lower status. "Children with little status tended not to write themselves or their friend into their stories as characters. Children with more status did. The result was that only certain children regularly appeared in the stories read by children during sharing time and housed in the workshop library-children with the most status and power in the room" (p. 107).

I found something different. I found that all the children held some level of status and were part of a group of children who shared similar ways of being treated and ways of interacting with others. It was the different levels of status assignments that caused their stress. These children seemed to use the names of children who held the same status position as they held within the class. One example of this would be the story, Derek Kitten. In this story both the author and the student who was written into the story were assigned lower status positions. Although their names did not appear in other texts, there was no clear indication that status position afforded that type of recognition within the students' stories. The children who held the highest

status positions and were the most prolific writers tended to use made up names, avoiding the names of peers altogether. There were only a couple of instances where peer names were used in stories and these transcended student status positions. During these times the authors followed the classroom rules for using student names, which usually allowed these incidents to take place without tensions.

Implications for Teaching Practice

Although the results of the infusion of a social justice curriculum during the Writing Workshop time were mixed, I feel strongly that this infusion must become part of the Writing Workshop pedagogy, and the findings of this study suggest directions for further development. There are three main points which I feel should be included as part of the curricular objectives within all classrooms. These are: (1) objectives for making the presence of children's social status visible; (2) objectives for social justice curricular infusion; and (3) objectives for establishing children's independence. I will discuss each of these objectives in the following sections.

Children's Social Status

In his dissertation, Lensmire (1991) described establishing an " ... engaged, pluralistic classroom community" (p. 247). He defined this environment as one where the diversity of children along the lines of class, race, and gender were recognized along with their individual and their personal attributes. He stated that the fact that a community was a pluralistic classroom was less important than how it responded to that pluralism, what the members of the classroom did with that information and with that knowledge.

Lensmire (1991) made several recommendations which detailed his expectation for engagement within the classroom. The first required that all children participated equally in the activities. He related this idea to just their writing, but I see it having

far more importance and should include their social interactions. I saw this first requirement to be one that allowed children to use all the opportunities that the Writing Workshop afforded and not limit those to children who had acquired certain privilege through their status assignments. I believe that inclusion as a goal of classroom community should ensure that each child is recognized and given their place to participate.

The second recommendation that Lensmire (1991) made described the responsibility for encouragement and sustaining this as belonging to the teacher and not that of the "classroom community." Although I now believe that the co-construction of norms and values influences the structure of the "classroom community," I do agree that as the adults and the ones who hold more power within the classroom, teachers need to be vigilant about this goal. Allowing for individual freedom is important but not at the expense of inclusion for all members. " A laissez-faire attitude... may very well allow status and power differences from the playground and society to assert themselves in the official work of the writing workshop" (p. 252).

The final suggestion of Lensmire (1991) was that children needed to pay attention to each other. They needed to care for one another. The stories that were written by the students in my classroom, for the most part, showed concern for the other members. They showed adherence to the principle of social justice that I had taught them. Their conversations did not. They allowed the power of status coupled with the stress inherent in all unofficial discourse to perpetuate disrespectful and exclusionary behaviors.

Children come to school with many experiences which position them to act towards others in definite ways. They demonstrate this positioning through their daily interactions with adults and with their peers. The ways that they interact become part of the co-construction of the classroom community. It is those who have

the most status and enact the most privilege who also generate the most influence over this process. It is these children who need to understand how their influence over others is helping to shape the understanding of the expected behaviors within the classroom. Behaviors that cause others to feel excluded must be made visible and deconstructed so that children begin to understand how much they affect the day-to-day life within the classroom.

Children noticed when there were groups or individuals who were being excluded and asked why this was happening. Two examples from my data were reported on the playground and in the lunchroom. They were clear about the role that status played within the classroom. They tried many times to explain that because of status assignments, they were being positioned unfairly. The power that social status possessed within this classroom made them feel disrespected and excluded by their peers. The influence that status provided was very visible to them. They discussed it among themselves and with me. It is a topic that must become more visible and more the focus of classroom discussions.

The results from my study suggest that children are well aware of the status positions that they each occupy. Although they did not have conversations directly with me which illuminated this point, the data recorded several incidents where students status assignments influenced their conversations and their behaviors. They made choices of whom they would include and who would be excluded in conversations based upon these assignments. They showed respect only to the members who held similar status positions as they held. They understood the norms that were co-constructed and used these to maintain the status assignments of each student. These assignments did not change as the year progressed.

Status in this classroom influenced many daily decisions that the children made. Issues of gender, friendship and trust, and culture were all affected by the status the children held. Educators need to be aware of the status that children bring

with them as they enter the classroom as well as the status that some, but not all, children gain from being in the classroom. Some classrooms and some school communities may provide unequal status assignments to children. The effects of these status assignments need to be recognized and discussed by everyone who is involved within the community so that unfair assignments, which are co-constructed by the members of the classroom community, can be minimized if not eliminated. It is the responsibility of classroom teachers to aid in the construction of an environment where these conversations can take place.

Social Justice Curricular Infusion

Friendship continued to be discussed throughout the school year by the children and by me. Each year, there are different levels of friendship that I attempt to move the children through. I identify them in three levels. At the first level, my relationship with them is one of teacher to student. Mutual respect is able to occur. Many classrooms reach this level of relationship.

The second level is one of friendship and trust. It was important for the children to think about their friendships, and to begin to trust one another, so that their trust in me and in each other could continue to grow and deepen to levels of respect and inclusion that could go beyond where we all started.

It is the third level of trust, of cultural understanding, on which I felt we were still working, as this study year ended. I believe that this level takes constant vigilance for its results to be made more visible. I mention these here because friendship and trust were at the core of building relationships within this classroom. They continue to be necessary components which need to be included when REVISIONING the Writing Workshop model.

Children made comments when they saw instances of injustice outside the Writing Workshop time. They developed expectations from the social justice

principle that they felt should be followed consistently. They questioned why it appeared that all adults did not seem to understand this principle which related to culture, gender and friendship and trust. It was particularly through their questioning of events that change began to occur within their writings.

One example took place in the school cafeteria. A group of boys was made to sit at the same table everyday. The adults in the cafeteria placed these children at this table to help facilitate their job of monitoring the children's behavior during lunch. Several of the children interpreted this table as the "bad table." Some of these second-grade children felt that this was not a respectful way of handling this problem. They felt that it made it appear that only boys in the cafeteria had a difficult time following the rules, something that these children reported was not true.

Another example occurred during recess time. Some children noticed that a group of children was never allowed to play games on the field during the recess time. The group of children who dominated the field for soccer also dictated who could play and who could not. Some children reported this as an example of exclusion, a clear violation of the social justice principle that they had been taught.

Examples such as these showed that children were able to understand the social justice principle from our discussions and use this information to critically evaluate events that had occurred outside of their classroom. They expected that the participants in these activities should also adhere to the social justice principle that we had discussed.

I discovered that there was the need to be more vigilant in the ways that issues of social justice were presented to children. Children needed to continue to have many opportunities to practice making decisions which affect their relationships with others, but also needed to be provided with guidance and with structure when discussing their behavioral choices. The classroom must become a place where children can freely and openly explain how they feel and what they need from each

other, so that they are able to develop the necessary social skills which allow them to negotiate tensions related to gender, friendship and trust, and culture.

A social justice curriculum is a very important component to be added to all classrooms where Writing Workshop instruction is being used. My research has shown how this addition helps children understand how their words affect other members of the classroom. It makes visible issues that might otherwise go un-discussed. The lack of attention and lack of discussion of issues of gender, friendship and trust, and culture sends a message to the children, just as strongly as the message that is sent to them through the curriculum infusion. Unspoken messages must be challenged and not allowed to appear as being sanctioned by the members of the classroom. The stereotyped injustices must be made visible and challenged so that children will not only understand why these injustices are not respectful, but that they will also begin to question all injustices that they experience, and that they will notice them more.

Although some believe that it is within the power of the teacher to influence and change the climate within the classroom, it is the co-constructed nature of classroom life that must be understood before real change can be expected. Many children understand this and they are ready to add their influence to making the classroom a positive learning environment for everyone. What children need is a chance to do this, and direct instruction. With this inclusion, it is possible to make the classroom a more positive environment. It is possible to make the classroom a place where everyone feels welcome and included. It is possible, then, to make the classroom a place for children to learn that they can influence a much larger environment.

In his study Lensmire (1991) referred to the need for teachers to develop a critical pragmatic response to children's texts and include this as a revision of the Writing Workshop model. He suggests that teachers "... frame (possibly with

negotiation with students) collective writing projects focused on important texts in children's lives" (p. 249). I view this suggestion as another way to include a social justice infusion into the Writing Workshop. It is a way to help children gain insights into the lives of others and the importance of knowing and caring which will strengthen the classroom community.

The lack of data, particularly related to culture, in the writing time was not a reflection of how ineffective the social justice curriculum was overall. As the classroom teacher, I observed many other occasions where the social justice principle was at work and influenced children's thinking and behavior.

Establishing Children's Independence

Another point, made apparent from the analysis of this data, has focused on the way that I allowed children to appropriate the writing table as their "own" space. The writing model that I used has "... largely abdicated teacher responsibility for curricular development to children" (Lensmire, p. 249, 1991). The "underground" inappropriate behavior during writing time added to the co-construction of an environment where behaviors that did not follow that social justice principle were tolerated. It provided students with the power to shape the classroom world in relation to each other. Their power was misdirected and allowed them to see the classroom and their peers in some ways but not in other ways. I believe that it is important to allow children the necessary independence to practice what they have been taught. The results from this study would suggest, however, that the ways that children are given independence and the ways that their independent behavior is monitored need to be given careful consideration. This also is a very important component of the Writing Workshop model of instruction.

Calkins (1986) has experimented with "genre studies." She has students focus on particular assignments during the school year as collective writing projects, which

are pursued by the students and the teacher. These place "... particular genre of text at the center of the work of teachers and students in the writing workshop" (p. 168). It is a way of allowing guided independence which this study showed was needed. It would allow children to benefit from the production of meaningful text while continuing to involve the teacher. It would allow teachers and students opportunities to explore the unofficial discourse that needs to be made more visible. These could be topics to be discussed within the "genre studies."

"Students have been the determiners of content in workshop. Teachers have been responsible for a craft curriculum, for sharing tricks of the trade with young writers....teachers would be responsible for teaching children... about the real concern with content--the ideas, values, interests expressed in text" (Lensmire, p. 254, 1989).

Implications for Further Research

Within this section I discuss my thoughts about further research. I have asked three questions that were generated from this study and that I believe would require further research to answer. The questions are: 1) Why was there no data for me to analyze related to culture; 2) What are the best ways to achieve the goals of both teacher and researcher; and 3) Why was there such a difference in my findings between the ways that the social justice principle was included within students' writings but not within their spontaneous conversations?

When I began this study, the question of whether values should be included in curriculum instruction was a very controversial issue. Violent incidents at many schools, where children have taken the lives of other children and adults, have made this question crucial. If it is a topic that must become an integral part of classroom instruction, then this is an area that requires further research. Teachers must know what to teach and how to teach children to be responsible for their actions. Who will take the responsibility of determining whose values and which values will become the

expected social justice principle? This is a very controversial issue. Researchers must help educators discover ways that reach all children and create environments that are havens for all students. If it is an area of learning that needs to be implemented within different areas, then there need to be decisions regarding how to insure that all children are receiving the support that they need.

How Children Discuss Culture

The obvious lack of data related to culture available in this study is very a important concern. Given the amount of time and the number of directed lessons that I had delivered on this topic, I was both surprised and disappointed not to see some influence within their writings or conversations recorded at the writing table. Although it was my goal to present this topic in a way that showed my students that I understood some aspects of the importance of cultural influences, I believe that I was unsuccessful in developing this point with them in a way similar to the other lessons that I taught related to gender and friendship and trust. In the area of culture, the evidence of purposeful change was never apparent in the data that I collected and reviewed. Although I have no data related to changes or evidence of information regarding issues of culture, it is possible that children did discuss this issue and attempted to understand how it worked within our classroom. It is also possible that the issue of culture did not connect as immediately to the children's experiences or that there exists more of a taboo on talking about experiences related to culture.

It might be necessary to increase the amount of time that data is collected to include a larger portion of the school day to capture these conversations. These possible conversations and their ramifications need to be further explored. Understanding how children interpreted these messages and lessons that were taught, and why they were not visible within their writing that was published or within the conversations that I recorded is too important a question to leave unanswered.

Understanding might add insights into the ways that children view their place within the school community. This is a very important issue necessitating further research.

Better Ways To Negotiate the Teacher-Researcher Role

The second question generated from this study is one that looks at the dilemma that I faced trying to figure out the best way to balance the responsibilities of teacher-
researcher. These roles were never clearly defined, which made it difficult for me and for my students.

As the classroom teacher, it was my job to teach, with all the tasks included within that responsibility. I was expected to insure that the environment was one that supported the academic as well as the social needs of all children who were in my class. I was expected to intervene when I saw situations or heard conversations which did not follow the classroom rules that we had established. However, as the researcher I wanted to observe the children and see whether the children would use what I had instructed to correct self and/or peer behaviors that did not follow our social justice principle. I recorded their responses and the behaviors, but did not always become involved with the children as they responded to each other's comments in ways that I usually would have, and believe I ought to have. This lack of response to certain behaviors became problematic for me.

Once the children became accustomed to my more passive role as researcher, they learned that certain behaviors at the writing table (which went unchallenged by me or by the other children) would be tolerated even though they went against the social justice principle and were not accepted during teacher-directed times of the day. Without my direct intervention, these behaviors continued. I am left wondering about the impact on the research findings related to their conversations if I had not removed myself completely.

In retrospect, I believe that it was the balance of these two responsibilities that was most difficult for me to achieve. It would have worked best for me to have had two people in the classroom during this study who fulfilled two distinct roles and responsibilities. One person would have assumed the role of classroom teacher and would have been perceived by the children in this role. Another person would have taken the major responsibility of collecting data and not be expected to direct the activities of the children. I believe that the change in format of teacher-researcher role would have made the distribution of "teacher" influence more equitable. I don't know how this change would have affected the results of this study. Although the model that I suggest is not new, what I am suggesting is looking at ways that this responsibility can be achieved by one person successfully.

Another less visible problem related to the teacher-researcher role for me was an issue which arose out of the responsibility of collecting data. Having the videocamera operating during Writing Workshop time did not eliminate the need for me to remove myself from my role as classroom teacher. It was necessary for me to record notes so that I was able to document accurately the behaviors that were occurring at the writing table. The additional information was needed later when I transcribed the data I had collected. This process of expanding my notes (which sometimes had to occur concurrently with the children's writing time) required my complete concentration. It made it difficult for me to focus on infusing and reinforcing the social justice principle. I put the data collection first and was able to collect quite a bit of data that year. I was not able to respond to the social needs of students, and therefore was not able to reach the levels of understanding that I strive to reach with my students.

I believe that there are great benefits to action research. Teachers and children know best what is happening in classrooms, and they can best inform changes in curriculum and instruction. The classroom is the place where this research should be

taking place, and where questions related to student learning should be asked and answered. I would suggest continued research on better ways of collecting this data.

Final Thoughts

This study raised a concern about effective ways to infuse social justice into students' spontaneous and unsupervised conversations. The effects of the infusion on children's writing was more evident than the effects on their conversations. I believe that further study would help to determine if there are more effective ways to relate these issues to children at this age, so that they will be able to find the same success within their daily interactions as they were able to find within their writing. If it is important to develop specific ways of writing which include all aspects of social justice and if these can be understood and incorporated into the writing of young children, perhaps the incorporation of the social justice principle into daily interaction of children should also be addressed. This study shows this importance and suggests ways to accomplish this goal in the writing. Continued research into methods which address daily interactions is necessary.

Other age groups of children, other parts of the school day, or other disciplines besides language arts and social science could also be included in further research. Looking at the connection between home and school might be a way to document the influence reflected in children's conversations.

Teachers have the responsibility of extending children's learning beyond academics. Having these answers will inform teachers as to what needs to be done within classrooms. This information will further our knowledge of life within elementary classrooms . It will also remind us that our decisions affect children's understanding of what is expected of them. This study, an examination of my work with children, is not an ending. I have returned to my second-grade classroom and continue to teach and to learn from my students. I will look for better ways to grasp

what children understand from the social justice principle as we continue to co-construct the learning environment that we all share.

The results of this study have led to a change in the way that I view my relationships with children and with adults. I now consider the ways that my culture, my gender and my friendship and trust with others influences our relationships. I am looking at my teaching practice and wondering how my assumptions and my attitudes, along with my interactions with the members of the school community effect the environment that I am co-constructing with my students. I question myself as to where I am showing my commitment to inclusion and what I am doing that makes others feel respected. I am looking at ways that I operate within my classroom that might have made others feel disrespected or excluded.

I am becoming more aware of the effect that my status has on our school community. I wonder if this effect is being transferred to the ideology of my classroom and incorporated into the children's attitudes and into their behaviors. As I continue this work I hope to better understand what children and adults must contend with when gender, culture and friendship and trust influence status assignments.

APPENDIX A

BOOK LIST BIBLIOGRAPHY

Betts, E., & Welch, C. (1953). Up the street and down. New York, NY: American Book Co.

Burgess, T. (1942). The adventures of Mr. Mocker. New York, NY: Grosset & Dunlap

Clifton, L. (1970). Some of the days of Everett Anderson. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehard and Winston.

Devlin, Wende & Devlin, H. (1966). Old black witch. New York, NY: Parents' Magazine Press.

Disney, W. (1957). Brer Rabbit and the tar baby. USA: Western Publishing Co., Inc.

Flack, M. & Wiese, K. (1933). The story about Ping. New York, NY: The Viking Press.

Frasier, G., MacCracken, H. & Decker, D. (1955). We look and listen. Syracuse, NY: The L. W. Singer Co., Inc.

Gray, W. & Arbuthnot, M. (1947). More friends and neighbors. Chicago, IL: Scott, Foresman and Co.

Guilfoile, E. (1962). Have you seen my brother?. Chicago, IL: Follett Publishing Co.

Haslam, A. & Parsons, A. (1996). Make it work! North American Indians, the hands-on approach to history. New York, NY: Scholastic Inc.

Hengesbaugh, J.(1956). I live in so many places. Chicago, IL: Childrens Press.

Robinson, H., Monroe, M. & Artley, A. (1962). Fun wherever we are. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Co.

Verlag, A. (1986). Catch a fish for me. Berlin, GDR: Szudra Publishing.

APENDIX B

STUDENT PERMISSION FORMS

September 18, 1997

Dear Children,

I continue to learn more about the different ways that you write by watching and talking about your writing. As you know, I am studying about children's writing at the University of Massachusetts where I am completing a doctoral program. I am very interested in the conversations that you have with classmates about your writing. I hope to observe how you use your conversations and your ideas to create the wonderful stories that you write. I believe that learning more about how you speak about your writing will help all teachers understand more about children's writing. The information that I collect will be used in my doctoral dissertation.

I would like permission from you and your parents to use samples of your writing and conversations in a special project that I am working on. I would also like permission to videotape you during writing conferences that you have with me and with the other students. I would like your permission to use information from this project with other teachers so that they too can learn more about writing from you. You do not have to participate. I am looking for volunteers. There is no problem if you and your parents want to withdraw from the project at any time.

When I do share samples, I will not use your real names so that no one except me will know who did the writing and the talking. I am the only one who will view the videotapes. I will also talk with you about the samples that I plan to share and talk with you about the conversations that I plan videotape. Mr. Wiley has given his permission to videotape writing activities that you and I are involved in and has talked with me about this research project. He has encouraged me to continue. He will work closely with me on this project.

When I finish the special project, the results will be available here at school for you and your family to read. The results of the project may also be published in articles, books or in conference notes. The videotapes will be used only for research and will not be shown to anyone. These will be kept in a secure place so that I am the only one who has access to them.

I would like to invite you to participate in this special project. The choice is yours. Whether you choose to participate in this study or not will not effect your progress in the class. However, if you are interested, please sign the permission form on the back page and then take it home and discuss it with your parents. If they agree, please ask them to sign it also. Please return the permission form to me. If you or your parents have any question, please let me know. I will be very happy to talk about any questions or concerns that you or that they might have about this project. Thank you for your help!

Sincerely,

Mr. Preston

Permission Form

Student Writing Study

Date_____

Student's
Name_____

Parent's
Name_____

Please check:

_____ I give my permission for my child to participate in the study on children's writing, if my child would like to.

_____ I do not give my permission for my child to participate in the study on children's writing.

_____ I would like more information about the study. Please call me.

Parent's
Signature:_____

Child's
Signature:_____

Please have your child return this form to Mr. Preston. Thank you.

REFERENCES

American Association of University Women. (1992). How schools shortchange girls: Action guide for improving gender equity in schools. Washington, DC: AAUW Education Foundation.

Asher, S. R. & Coie, J. D. (Eds.). (1990). Peer rejection in childhood. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Asher, S. R. & Coie, J. D. (Eds.). (1981). The development of children's friendships. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Atwell, N. (1985). Writing and reading from the inside out. In J. Hansen & T. Newkirk (Eds.) Breaking ground: Teachers relate reading and writing in the elementary school (pp. 246-267). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Banks, J. A. (1980). Multicultural education: For freedom's sake. Educational Leadership, 49(4), 32-36

Banks, J. A., & McGee Banks, C. A. (Eds.). (1993). Multicultural education: Issues and Perspectives. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Beals, D. (1989). Computer-mediated communication among beginning teachers. Harvard University, MS.

Best, R. (1983). We've all got scars: What boys and girls learn in elementary school. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Bloome, D., & Bailey, F. (1992). Studying language and literacy through events, particularity and intertextuality. In R. Beach, J. L. Green, M. L. Kamil, & T. Shanahan (Eds.), Multidisciplinary perspectives on literacy research (pp. 181-210). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Bloome, D., & Eagan-Robertson, A. (1993). The social construction of intertextuality in classroom reading and writing lessons. Reading Research Quarterly, 28, 305-333.

Bloome, D. and Green, J. (1983).Ethnography and reading: Issues, approaches, criteria, and findings. In J. A. Niles & L. A. Harris (Eds.), Searches for meaning in reading/language processing and instruction (pp. 6-30). Chicago, IL: The National Reading Conference. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 300 789)

Bloome, D., Puro, P., & Theodorou, E. (1989). Procedural display and classroom lessons. Curriculum Inquiry, 19(3), 265-291.

Bloome, D., & Willet, J. (1991). Toward a micropolitics of classroom interaction. In J. Blase (Ed.), The politics of life in schools: Power, conflict and cooperation (pp. 207-235). Newbury, CA: Sage Focus.

Calkins, L. (1986). The art of teaching writing. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Charney, R. (1992).Teaching children to care: Management in the responsive classroom. Greenfield, MA: Northeastern Foundation for Children.

Cherland, M. R. (1994). Private practices: Girls reading fiction and constructing identity. Bristol, PA: Taylor & Francis.

Chodorow, N. J. (1978). The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis and the socialization of gender. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coates, J. & Cameron, D. (1989). Women in their speech communities. New York: Longman Inc.

Coie, J. D., & Cillessen, A. H. N. (1993). Peer rejection: Origins and effects on children's development. Current Directions in Psychological Science, 2(3), 89-92.

Cook-Gumperz, J. (Ed) (1986). The social construction of literacy. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Cooper, C. R., Marquis, A., & Ayers-Lopez, S. (1982). Peer learning in the classroom: Tracing developmental patterns and consequences of children's spontaneous interactions. In L.C. Wilkinson (Ed.), Communication in the classroom. New York: Academic Press.

Corno, L. (1989). What it means to be literate about classrooms. In D. Bloome (Ed.), Classrooms and literacy. (pp. 29-52). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Corsaro, E. (1988 January). Routines in the peer culture of American and Italian nursery school children. Sociology of Education, pp. 1-14.

Cosaro, W. A. (1979). "We're friends, right?": Children's use of access rituals in a nursery school. Language and Society, 8, 315-336.

Cosaro, W. A. (1985). Friendship and peer culture in the early years. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Cosaro, W. A. (1994). Discussion, debate and friendship processes: Peer discourse in US and Italian nursery schools. Sociology of Education, 67, 1-26.

Cosaro, W. A., & Eder, D. (1990). Children's peer cultures. Annual Review of Sociology, 16, 197-220.

Davies, B. (1982). Life in classroom and playground: The accounts of primary school children. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Davies, B. Frogs, snails and feminist tales. Preschool children and under. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Davies, B. (1993). Shards of glass: Children reading and writing beyond gendered identities. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Deegan, J. (1996). Children's friendships in culturally diverse classrooms. Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Delpit, L. (1992). Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom. New York: The New Press.

Dickinson, D. K. (1986). Cooperation, collaboration, and a computer: Integrating a computer into a first/second grade writing program. Research in the Teaching of English, 20(4), 357-378.

Duranti, A., & Goodwin, C. (1992). Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dyson, A. (1985). Second graders sharing writing: The multiple social realities of a literacy event. Written Communication, 2(2),189-215.

Dyson, A. (1989). Multiple words of child writers: Friends learning to write. New York: Teachers College Press.

Dyson, A. (1993). Social worlds of children learning to write in an urban primary school. New York: Teachers College Press.

Dyson, A. (1997). Writing super heroes contemporary childhood, popular culture, and classroom literacy. New York: Teachers College Press.

Eisenhart, M. A., & Holland, D. (1983). Learning gender from peers: The role of peer groups in cultural transmission of gender. Human Organization, 42(4), 321-332.

Elgas, P. M., Klein, E., Kantor, R., & Fernie, D. (1988). Play and the peer culture: Play styles and object use. Journal of Research in Childhood Education, 3(2), 142-153.

Erikson, E. (1963). Childhood & society. New York: W. W. Norton.

Erikson, F. (1986). Qualitative methods in research on teaching, In M. C. Wittrock (Ed.), Handbook of research on teaching (3rd ed.) (pp. 119-161). New Youk: MacMillan.

Erikson, F. (1992). Ethnographic microanalysis of interaction. In M. LeCompte, W. Millroy, & J. Preissle (Eds.), The handbook of qualitative research in education. Boston: Academic Press.

Erikson, F. & Shultz, J. (1981). When is a context? Some issues and methods in the analysis of social competence. In J. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings (pp. 147-160). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Fairclough, N. (L989). Language and power. New York: Longman.

Foot, H., Chapman, A., & Smith, J. R. (Eds.). (1980). Friendship and social relations in children. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Foucault, M. (1966). The order of things. New York: Random House.

Foucault, M. (1969). The archeology of knowledge. New York: Random House.

French, J., & French, P. (1993). Gender imbalances in the primary classroom: An interactional account. In P. Woods & M. Hammersley (Eds.), Gender and ethnicity in schools (pp. 95-112). New York: Routeledge.

Gal, S. (1991). Between speech and silence: The problematics of research on language and gender. In M. di Leonardo (Ed.), Gender at the crossroads of knowledge: Feminist anthropology in the post-modern era (pp. 175-203). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gee, J. P. (1992). The social mind: Language, ideology and social practice. New York: Bergin and Garvey.

Gere, A. R., & Abbott, R. (1985). Talking about writing: The language of writing groups. Research in the Teaching of English, 19, 362-379.

Gilbert, P. (1988). Stoning the romance: Girls as resistant readers and writers. Curriculum Perspectives, 8(2), 13-18.

Gilbert, P. (1989). Writing, schooling and deconstruction: From voice to text in the classroom. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Gilbert, P. & Taylor, S. (1991). Fashining the feminine: Girls, popular culture and schooling. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice. Cambridge: Howard University Press.

Ginsberg, D., Gottman, J. & Parker, J. (1986). The importance of friendship. In J. M. Gottman and J. G. Parker (Eds.), Conversations of friends: Speculations on affective development (pp. 3-48). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Goetz, J., & Grant, L. (1988). Conceptual approaches to studying gender in education. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 19(2), 182-196.

Goetz, J., & LeCompte, M. (1984). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Good, T. L., Sikes, J. N., & Brophy, J. E. (1973). Effects of teacher sex and student sex on classroom interaction. Journal of Educational Psychology, 65(1), 74-87.

Goodenough, R. (1987). Small group culture and the emergence of sexist behavior: A comparative study of four children's groups. In G. Spindler & L. Spindler (Eds.), Interpretive ethnography of education: At home and abroad (pp. 409-444). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Goodman, K. (1986). What's whole in whole language. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Grant, L. (1982 March). Sex roles and statuses in peer interactions in elementary schools. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York.

Grant, L. (1983). Gender roles and status in school children's peer interactions. Western Sociological Review, 14(1), 58-76.

Grant, C. A.,& Steeter, C. E. (1993) Race, class, gender, and disability in the classroom. In J. A. Banks & C. A. Banks (Eds.), Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives (pp. 48-67). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Graves, D. (1983). Writing: Teachers & children at work. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Green, J. & Wallat, C. (1981). Mapping instructional conversation - A sociolinguistic ethnography. In J. L. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings (pp. 161-205). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Grossman, H., & Grossman, S. H. (1994). Gender issues in education. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). Effective evaluation: Improving the usefulness of evaluation results through responsive and naturalistic approaches. San Francisco, CA: Sage

Gumperz, J. (1971). Language in social groups. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Halliday, M. (1977). Text as semantic choices in social context. In T. A. Ban Dyck & J. Petori (Eds.), Grammars and descriptions. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Halliday, M. (1978). Language as a social semiotic. London: Edward Arnold.

Hallinan, M. T., & Tuma, N. B. (1978). Classroom effects on change in children's friendships. Sociology of Education, 5(1), 270-282.

Hansen, J. (1987). When writers read. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Harkness, S., & Super, M. (1985). The cultural context of gender segregation in children's peer groups. Child Development, 56, 219-224.

Hatch, J. A. (1988). Learning to be an outsider: Peer stigmatization in kindergarten. The Urban Review, 20(1), 59-72.

Healy, M. K. (1981). Purpose in learning to write: An approach to writing in three curriculum areas. In C. H. Frederikson & J. F. Dominic (Eds.), Writing: the nature, development, and teaching of written communication (Vol. 2). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Heap, J. (1989). Sociality and cognition in collaborative computer writing. In D. Bloome (Ed), Classrooms and literacy (pp. 135-157). Norwood, NJ: Ablex

Heath, S. (1983). Ways with words: Language life and work in communities and classrooms. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Henkin, R. (1995). Insiders and outsiders in first-grade writing workshops: Gender and equity issues. Language Arts, 72, 429-434.

Hubbard, R. (1989). Notes from the underground: Unofficial literacy in one sixth grade. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 20, 291-307.

Hudson, S. (1988). Children's perceptions of classroom writing: Ownership within a continuum of control. In B. Rafoth & D. Rubin (Eds.), The social construction of written communication. Norwood, NJ: Ablex

Hunter, J. (1997). Multiple perceptions: Social identity in a multilingual elementary classroom. TESOL Quarterly, 31(3), 603-611.

Hymes, D. (1974). Foundations of sociolinguistics: Sociolinguistic ethnography. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Jorgensen, D. (1989). Participant observation: A methodology for human studies. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kamler, B. (1993). Constructing gender in the process writing classroom. Language Arts, 70, 95-103.

Kamler, B. (1998). Constructing gender and difference: Critical research perspectives on early childhood. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Kemple, K. (1991, July). Preschool children's peer acceptance and social interaction. Young Children, pp. 47-54.

Kenway, J., & Willis, S. (1988). Hearts and minds: Self-esteem and the schooling of girls. Canberra, Australia: Department of Education, Employment and Training.

Kohlberg, L. (1987). The Philosophy of Moral Development. New York: Harper & Row.

Labov, W. (1970). The study of language in its social context. Stadium General, 23, 30-87.

Ladd, G. W. (1990). Having friends, keeping friends, making friends, and being liked by peers in the classroom: Predictors of children's early school adjustment? Child Development, 61, 1081-1100.

Lemke, J. L. (1995). Textual politics: Discourse and social dynamics. Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis.

Lensmire, T. (1994). When children write: Critical revision of the writing workshop. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Lensmire, T. (1991). Intention, risk, and writing in a third-grade writing workshop. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, Lansing, MI.

Lensmire, T. J., & Beals, D. E. (1994). Appropriating others' words: Traces of literature and peer culture in a third-grader's writing. Language in Society, 23, 411-426.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). Naturalistic inquire. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Losey, K. M. (1995). Gender and ethnicity as factors in the development of verbal skills in bilingual Mexican American women. TESOL Quarterly, 29, 635-661.

McDermott, R. P. (1977). Social relations as contexts for learning in school. Harvard Educational Review, 47,(2), 198-213.

McDermott, R. P., & Roth, D. R. (1979). The social organization of behavior: Interactional approaches. Annual Review of Anthropology, 7, 321-345.

Measor, L., & Sikes, P. (1992). Gender and schools. New York: Cassell

Merrriam, Sharon. (1988). Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Myers, J. (1992). The social context of school and personal literacy. Reading Research Quarterly, 27, 297-333.

Ogbu, J. U. (1987). Variability in minority responses to schooling: Non immigrants vs. immigrants. in G. Spindler & L. Spindler (Eds.), Interpretive ethnography of education: At home and abroad (pp. 255-278). Hilldale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Orellana, M. (1995). Literacy as a gendered social practice: Tasks, texts, talk, and take-up. Reading Research Quarterly, 30(4), pp. 674-707.

Orenstein, P. (1994). School girls: Young women, self-esteem and the confidence gap. New York: Doubleday.

Paley, V. (1992). You can't say you can't play. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Patton, Michael Q. (1980). Qualitative evaluation and research methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Phillips, S. U. (1980). Sex differences and language. Annual review of Anthropology, 9,523-544.

Phinney, M. (1992). Writing, sociality, and identity in kindergarten: An ethnographic study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA..

Piaget, J. (1965). The moral judgment of the child. New York: Macmillian, Free Press.

Pollard, A. (1987). Children and their primary schools: A new perspective. New York: Falmer Press.

Purcell-Gates, J. D. (1992). Focus on research: Complexity and gender. Language Arts, 70, 124-127.

Ramsey, P. G. (1991). Making friends in school: Promoting peer relationships in early childhood. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1994a). Classrooms as cultures: Premises guiding the study of life in classrooms. Paper presented at the meeting of National Reading Conference, San Diego, CA.

Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1994b). Ethnography as a language for learning. Paper presented at the meeting of National Council of Teachers of English-Impact Conference II, Orlando, FL.

Sevigny, M. J. (1981). Triangulated inquiry: A methodology for the analysis of classroom interaction. In J. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings. (pp. 65-85). Norwood, NJ. Ablex.

Shravia-Shore, M. & Arvizu, A. (1992). Cross-cultural literacy, ethnographies of communication in multiethnic classrooms. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.

Sleeter, C. E. (1993). How white teachers construct race. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.), Race, identity and representations in education (pp. 157-171). New York: Routledge.

Smith, F. (1983). Essays into literacy. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Smith, F. (1988). Joining the literacy club: Further essays into education. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Solsken, J. W. (1993). Literacy, gender, and work in families and school. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Spradley, J. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Reinhard and Winston.

Spradley. J. (1980). Participant observation. New York: Harcourt Brace Javanovich

Stitt, B. A., Erekson, T. L., Hofstrand, R. K., Loepp, F. L., Minor, C. W., Perreault, H. R., & Savage, J. G. (1988). Building gender fairness in schools. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Street, B. (1984). Literacy in theory and practice. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. (Ed.). (1993). Gender and conversational interaction. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tatum, B. (1997).Why are all the black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?. New York: Basic Books.

Thorne, B. (1986). Girls and boys together... but mostly apart: Gender arrangements in elementary schools. In W. Hargup & Z. Rubin (Eds.), Relationships and development (pp. 167-184). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Thorne, B. (1993). Gender play: Girls and boys in school. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Thorne, B., & Henley, N. (1975). Difference and dominance: An overview of language, gender , and society. In B. Thorne & N. Henley (Eds.), Language and sex: Difference and dominance (pp. 5-42). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Thorne, B., Kramarae, C., & Henley, N. (Eds.). (1983). Language, gender and society. Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Wade, W. C. (1992). Human rights education in the elementary school: A case study of fourth graders' response to a democratic, social action oriented human rights curriculum. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of MA, Amherst, MA.

Webb, N. M. (1984). Sex differences in interaction and achievement in cooperative small groups. Journal of Educational Psychology, 76,(1), 33-44.

Wells, G., & Chang-Wells, G. L. (1992). Constructing knowledge together. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Whitmore, K., & Crowell, C. (1994). Inventing a classroom: Life in a bilingual, whole language community. York, ME: Stenhouse Publishers.

Wilkenson, L. C. & Marrett, C. B. (Eds.). (1985). Gender influences in classroom interactions. Orlando: Academic Press.

Wilson-Keenan, J., Solsken, J., & WIllett, J. (1993). Focus on research: Constructing an urban village: School/home collaboration in multicultural classroom. Language Arts, 70, 204-214.

Wilson Keenan, J., Solsken, J., & Willett, J. (1999). "Only boys can jump high": Reconstructing gender relations in a first/second grade classroom. To appear in B. Kamler (Ed.), Constructing gender and difference: Critical research perspectives on early childhood. (pp. 33-70). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Woods, P., & Hammersley, M. (1993). Gender and ethnicity in schools. New York: Routledge.